DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 239 523 HE 016 835

AUTHOR Heilbron, Louis H.
TITLE From the Beginning: Commencement Addresses and Selected Papers.
INSTITUTION California State Univ., Long Beach.
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 193p.
PUB TYPE Collected Works - General (020) -- Viewpoints (120)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Academic Freedom; College Administration; *College Role; Commencement Ceremonies; Demonstrations (Civil); *Educational Change; Educational Objectives; *Governance; Higher Education; Liberal Arts; School Boycotts; School Community Relationship; Speeches; *State Colleges; *Statewide Planning; Student College Relationship; Trustees
IDENTIFIERS *Heilbron (Louis H)

ABSTRACT

Commencement addresses and selected papers of Louis H. Heilbron are presented that cover two decades of California higher education, although most address educational issues of the 1960s. Some are historical documents, while others contain advice to graduates. Topics range from teacher education, occupational training, and admission standards to academic governance, collective bargaining, and the role of trustees. The addresses also deal with some major achievements of the California state college system in the formative years. Nine articles on educational mission include the following topics: academic freedom, the values of a liberal education, and the changing role of education in California. Topics addressed in six articles on governance include: the uses and abuses of trustees, bridging the gap between the college and the community, and employment relations of academic personnel in the California State Colleges. Five articles on student unrest deal with the aspirations of youth, state colleges and the youth revolution, and the relationship between the school and the community. Finally, public expectations concerning educational standards are addressed, along with remarks from the dedication of the California State University Archives. (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED239523

FROM THE BEGINNING:

Commencement Addresses and Selected Papers

Louis H. Heilbron

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

California State Univ.

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

✓ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official NIE position or policy.

HE 016 835

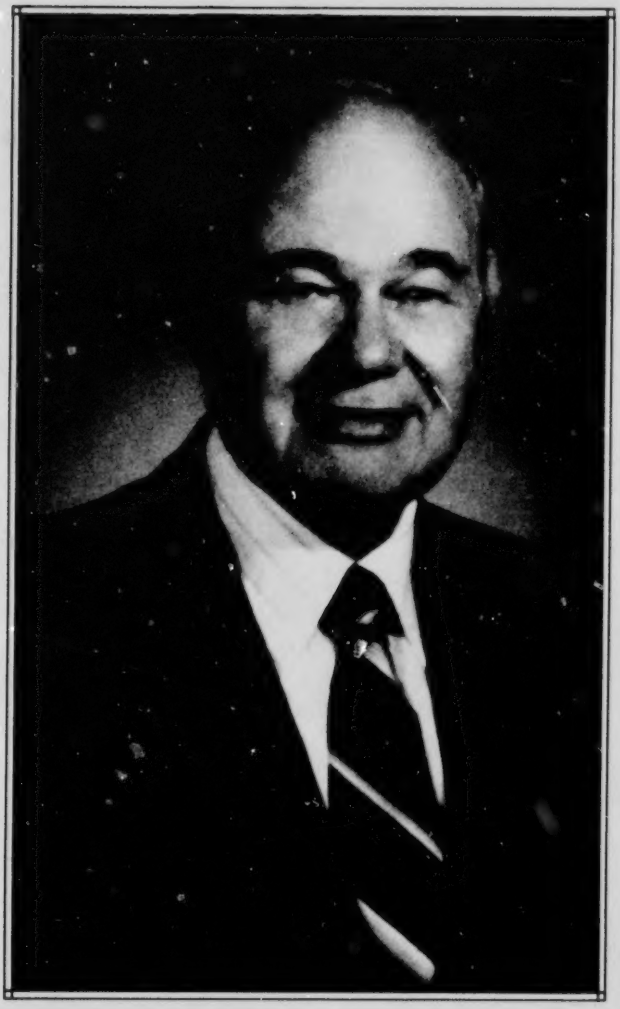
The California State University
Long Beach, California
1983

LOUIS H. HEILBRON, a prominent San Francisco attorney, has had a long association with education, both public and private. Among his services have been: First Chairman, Trustees of the California State Colleges (now University), President of the California State Board of Education, Chairman of the San Francisco State University Advisory Committee, Chairman of the Golden Gate University Trustees, Member of the Coordinating Council for Higher Educuation, of the Master Plan Review Committee, of the National Council on Post Secondary Accreditation and the National Commission on Academic Tenure. Currently he is President of the California Historical Society and Chairman of the California State University Archives Committee.

He is the author of "The College and University Trustee" (Jossey Bass) and of a number of chapters in education anthologies.

In this collection of commencement and other papers he speaks as an informed layman to and about students of the 60's and 70's and concerning educational issues of general public interest. Dr. Glenn S. Dumke has described the contents: "Some are historical documents and will provide source materials for scholars. Others, particularly his advice to graduates and his stirring depictions of the values of a liberal education, are timeless and as meaningful today as when they were written....This volume should be of interest to all members of the University community and the friends of higher education; it is an important contribution to the history and spirit of our times."

© 1983 The California State University
Library of Congress Catalog Card Number 83-071427



LOUIS H. HEILBRON

Table of Contents

Foreword vii
Preface ix

I. The Educational Mission
Marking the Rings 3
A Look at Academic Freedom 11
Cal Poly — Right Side Up 21
Higher Education for the Millions 29
The Values of a Liberal Education 45
Things to Come in California Education 51
Future Role of the State Colleges 61
The Changing Role of Education in California 65
Remarks on Retirement as Chairman 73

II. The Issue of Governance
Remarks to the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions 83
A Trustee Looks Ahead 87
The Uses and Abuses of Trustees 97
The College and the Community — Bridging the Gap 107
Employment Relations of Academic Personnel in the California State Colleges 115
Comments on the Address of Ronald W. Haughton and on the End of the San Francisco State College Strike 127

III. Student Unrest
A Symbol of the Aspirations of Youth 133
A Spoonful of Sugar 135
State Colleges and the Youth Revolution 145
There Once Was a College at Camelot 159
Relevance for Town and Gown 167

IV. Past and Future
Remarks at Dedication of the California State University Archives 181
Educational Standards: Public Expectations 185

Foreword

No member of the California State University Board of Trustees has played a more important role in the development of the University than has its first chairman, Louis H. Heilbron. A graduate of the University of California, Heilbron has been involved with higher education most of his adult life. He has been assistant to the Dean of Men at Berkeley, a trustee of the International House, a trustee of Golden Gate University, a member of the San Francisco State University President's Advisory Committee, and president of the San Francisco Public Education Society, to name just a few of his past responsibilities. A prominent San Francisco attorney, Heilbron was serving as president of the California State Board of Education at the time of passage of the Donahoe Act which created the Master Plan for Higher Education and the California State College system. He was appointed to the first Board of Trustees by former Governor Edmund G. Brown, and was unanimously elected for three terms as chairman of the Trustees (1960-63). Heilbron remained on the Board until 1969; his term coincided with the formative years of the California State University, and it is fitting that he titles this volume *From the Beginning*.

After conclusion of his formal service, Heilbron remained active in higher educational circles, being a popular speaker. He especially was interested in the growth of San Francisco State University, which awarded him its President's Distinguished Service Award in 1976. When the Board of Trustees in 1979 created an Historical Archives and established an Advisory Committee to supervise its development, Louis Heilbron agreed to serve as its first chair, a position he holds today. Thus he again is providing guidance to the California State University in a leadership role.

The commencement addresses and selected papers contained in this volume cover two decades of California higher education, although the majority of them deal with educational issues of the 1960s. Some are historical documents and will provide source materials for scholars. Others, particularly his advice to graduates and his stirring depictions of the values of a liberal education, are timeless and as meaningful today as when they were written. The commencement addresses were delivered at eight different campuses, spanning the state from Humboldt in the north to San Diego in the south. Topics range from teacher education, occupational training, and admission standards to academic governance, collective bargaining, the role of trustees, and relationships between town and gown. They remain matters for meaningful discussion. And although some of the tempests of the 1960s

have diminished, lessons are to be learned from Heilbron's analysis of the challenges of those years.

This volume should be of interest to all members of the University community and the friends of higher education; it is an important contribution to the history and spirit of our times.

Glenn S. Dumke
Chancellor Emeritus

Preface

Sometimes I think that everything that could happen to higher education in the 60's did happen to the California State Colleges after being brought together under the Master Plan of 1960. With great optimism we began a period of unprecedented growth — increasing enrollments, expanding undergraduate and graduate curricula, building new campuses and enlarging old ones, creating a federated system, developing new forms of governance. Much was accomplished.

For a brief time the challenge of the new system held the common interest of the various institutional segments — students, faculty, administration and trustees. But strains in governance soon appeared: the relation of the new central administration to each campus (the issue of autonomy), the proper scope of authority of a statewide academic senate and local senates; the press of other faculty organizations for collective bargaining; the claims of students for a voice in determining admissions, curriculum and other matters of educational policy, and the efforts by trustees and administration to procure from the Legislature the right to be more flexible in the management of the system's fiscal affairs than line by line budgeting allowed. These matters were the subject of debate and of action.

In the late 60's, protests, demonstrations and violence broke out on a number of campuses with respect to certain of these issues, particularly minority rights to admission to the colleges and to control of an ethnics study department, and more general campus questions relating to the draft, participation in the Vietnam War and attempts to make the colleges instruments of social action. Serious questions arose about the manner and the matter of these activities. Then suddenly, at the beginning of the next decade, things changed. Peace returned to the campuses, a new generation of students entered the classrooms, uninterested in protest, concerned chiefly with preparation for their chosen careers. For the most part, the liberal arts did not attract them, and this pragmatic attitude marked the character of most of the 70's.

The addresses in this book attempt to deal with some major achievements of the state college system in the formative years, the issues confronting it and certain basic educational objectives and values that many of us felt should guide it and its students. The audiences for the longer addresses were captive at commencements but sufficiently relaxed and interested to listen to discussions of educational questions, knowing that they would have a happy ending in the distribution of the diplomas. The other papers were read to administrative, faculty and press personnel professionally involved.

The views expressed were those of a lay trustee given, with his colleagues, legal responsibilities for controlling the expenditure of vast sums of public funds. Such a person is expected to represent the public

interest in education and also to be a kind of interpreter — to bring the Gown closer to the Town and vice versa. This I attempted to do, as well as to indicate my conviction that higher education is the greatest opportunity that democracy can offer.

The addresses have not been edited; they are printed as delivered, including a few long-winded sentences built up for verbal delivery and not for a polished essay. As for the issues discussed, I'm afraid that too many are still current.

My acknowledgment and thanks go to the trustees with whom I served and to the administrators, faculty members and students who have contributed to my continuing education on the goals, governance and problems of colleges and universities. Particular thanks go to Dr. Glenn S. Dumke for his Foreword, to Dr. Judson Grenier, Professor of History, California State University, Dominguez Hills, for his assistance in the organization of the material of this book and to Catherine Cranford, Publications, Office of the Chancellor, for assistance in preparing it for publication.

Louis H. Heilbron

April 1983

I. The Educational Mission

Marking the Rings

Commencement Address
Humboldt State College
June 4, 1961

President Siemens, members of the graduating class and friends:

A little over a year ago I had the pleasure of announcing to a conclave at Humboldt State College that the Master Plan for Higher Education had been enacted into law and that all of us entertained great expectations for its success. Today we are well started on the project of bringing life and meaning to that plan, of translating the resounding words of the statute into practical deed. The Trustees of the California State Colleges and the distinguished Chancellor, recently appointed Dr. Buell Gallagher, assume full responsibility for their operation on July 1st of this year. I can assure you that while one of our purposes is to bring about the same standards of excellence on all of our college campuses and the same efficiency of procedure, we have no desire whatever to impose uniformity of physical appearance or curriculum content. I am confident that we shall make no effort to establish a school of forestry in San Francisco State College or a Department of Oceanography at Fresno State. Each State College will be encouraged, to the fullest extent possible, to retain a distinctive character appropriate to its history, its location and its capacity for service to the community and to the state. There will be nothing quite like Humboldt and its trees.

Indeed, I am persuaded to base my remarks at this Commencement on an idea suggested by these very trees. It is not that the trees are so beautiful, or the groves like so many columns of a cathedral, or that the light filtering through them has the mystic quality of the noblest poetry. Great artists and poets have painted and sung these praises on a thousand canvases and in a thousand books, and I could not hope to emulate them. Moreover, I have a suspicion that you people of this college and this community have heard something about redwood trees before.

So I will not speak further about the trees, but only about part of a tree, a cross section of a tree. You have all seen such cross sections of a great redwood, with its face marked for history. You know what I mean. There will be a tree between 2,000 and 3,000 years old, and various dates will be superimposed on the appropriate annual rings. You can note the size of the tree in the year 323 before the Christian era, 800 after the Christian era, 1066, 1492, 1588, 1620, 1776 and 1914. I will not identify these dates for you because as college graduates I assume you know them all. But no matter how large the tree, very few annual rings are marked. The idea, of course, is to suggest to the viewer: look,

all these things took place and dissolved into history during the life of this single tree. However, a further thought occurred to me in the course of preparing these remarks: suppose that every annual ring from the very beginning of the tree was marked by an important historical event of that year. And suppose that a college graduate knew all of these dates and could identify all of the events — literally thousands of them — by name. Would he be an educated man? Would he have fulfilled the aims of this college?

Certainly he would be the possessor of a unique collection of facts. As a competitor on a television quiz show, an honest one, he might win large prizes. Yet all he would actually know would be bits and pieces of knowledge; he would be like the wandering minstrel in the song — "a thing of shreds and patches"; he would be little more or less than a freak in an intellectual circus.

This suggests a rather interesting question: if you divided your own experience into a sequence of annual rings, and you wanted to mark on those rings the events which were truly significant in your college education, which truly marked your intellectual growth, what would you mark? What *should* you mark? These queries bring us face to face with the aims of a college education.

All students will not score or underline the same achievements. The marks will be lighter or heavier in the case of each student. Let us explore together the nature and purpose of these imaginary marks and see how well we fare.

First of all, there is the matter of knowledge itself. Isolated pieces of knowledge have little value. As for isolated dates, I remember what an English professor of mine once said: "I shall not require any of my students to remember the birth date or the date of death of any author studied in this course because I am satisfied that the two days on which the author did not accomplish anything very much were the day he was born and the day he died." On the other hand, *related* fragments of knowledge have vast importance, and when they form a body of facts and theory which constitute some major division of knowledge, they constitute a discipline. The day that you have acquired a sufficient mastery over a discipline so that you have a grasp of its essentials, so that you perceive its whole outline and understand, at least generally, the relation of its parts — that is a day you can mark upon one of your annual rings. This feeling that you have acquired a body of knowledge, that you know something, is more likely to be held by a student of one of the natural or physical sciences or of engineering than of arts and letters. I am aware that it has been said frequently that the liberal arts graduate is supposed to acquire values other than mere knowledge, that his education is merely the residue of what remains after everything else is forgotten. I do not believe that this evaluation is fair to the liberal arts

curriculum or to the students of liberal arts subjects. The student of English literature who is able to pass a comprehensive test on the works of the principal authors and poets of our language knows something; the student of economics who has studied the various theories and complexities of production and distribution, of the acquisition and the use of wealth, of the joint and separate objectives of management and labor, knows something. The student of history who has studied the movements and the interrelationships of events and peoples over even a few centuries, knows something; and I could extend the list to every liberal arts subject. Such students, if they have taken advantage of their opportunities, also have undergone a discipline, and they are entitled to make their marks. Their knowledge may not be as utilitarian (in the accepted sense) as knowledge in certain of the physical sciences, but if it adds materially to the enjoyment of life, it has its own kind of utility. And if it enables the person who has it to deal more easily and more effectively with his fellowmen than would otherwise be the case, it has a certain utility in the accepted sense — though it requires no such justification.

A second event for marking an appropriate ring is that time when you really began to think. I do not mean about what dress you should wear to the Junior Prom or, in the case of a young man, about whom he should take — although these are problems I would be the last to deprecate — they might have lifelong results. Nor do I mean reviewing your notes and making the best estimate of what your professor will ask in a final examination so that you will be reasonably well prepared to give him back quickly what he has given to you slowly — though this is a technique that can bring results. Rather, I have in mind the time when you first wrestled with an abstract idea or theme, something elusive and hard to grasp, something you relentlessly pursued up and down the corridors of your aching brain until (Eureka!) you pinned it down. And when you finally held it firmly you may have found it — your conception of a truth — comparatively simple. Or the time when, after a considerable intellectual struggle, you discovered interrelationships where previously you thought there were only independent ideas. Or when you reconciled and synthesized several apparently competing ideas until they resulted in a theory or a fragment of philosophy. Thinking is a painful process, and those who know what I am talking about at this moment will have no trouble in their minds' eyes marking some notable instances on their annual rings.

Then there is the matter of being skeptical or critical. I am referring to the skepticism of a Senior, not to that of the Sophomore as caricatured in my college days of the 20's. That Sophomore was inclined to debunk everything. He doubted everyone's motives, in high places or low. He agreed with one of the characters in a play who, when

asked what history would say about an event, exclaimed, "History will lie as usual." He did not believe that any man in politics could be honest. He repudiated the tenets of his religion, and he did not believe that science could provide any worthwhile answers. He was not skeptical; he was negative. He had eaten too much fruit from the lower branches of the tree of knowledge and he had indigestion. But with you graduates it should be different. You know that there are many things true that are not new and many things new that are not true. You also know that many things, new and old, are true. If you have acquired the habit of asking for proof, of demanding that claims or statements, particularly in the field of controversy, be supported or substantiated before you accept them, you are exhibiting a characteristic of a college graduate who has achieved one of the purposes of a college education. Your mind is open to a new idea, but first you must investigate, then weigh the evidence. You just want to be shown.

With this critical attitude you will read your newspapers, you will listen to your radio, you will view your television. (Regarding the latter, you may still find yourself unable to determine which permanent wave will make you permanently beautiful, what kind of unsurpassable car is essential to your happiness, and what dentifrice you must purchase to give you peace of mind.) You will be aware that almost every major newspaper carries varying and often conflicting interpretations of the news. You will question a news article in the light of an editorial; you may question both in the light of a columnist. You will know and discount the bias of national magazines. You will note that it is not always easy to find the truth, but you will seek it before you vote, before you take a position on an issue, before you decide to join or not to join an organization.

There are further qualities which college can give you and which you can mark upon your record. Take the matter of being creative. The time when you thought of a novel approach to your term paper, or developed a new and apparently sound argument which you had not heard before, or performed an experiment in the laboratory for which you had no direction — any of these days was notable. They were important because they helped to establish you as an individual. The liberal arts curriculum particularly has this purpose; it accords with a primary objective of American higher education. In spite of the great numbers attending our colleges in California and elsewhere, we do not want to turn out standard products at the end of an educational assembly line, all neatly and uniformly packaged and stamped with a degree. The more creative a person is, the more likely he or she will exhibit an individual character. Our aim to educate individuals, all a little different, is best achieved by affording full opportunity for the student to develop his creative ability.

Perhaps the most important aim of a college education is to develop reasonable men and women. This quality is something beyond mere logic or skepticism. This is a habit of mind, an overall attitude toward all the problems a person may encounter. It is the greatest attribute of the founding fathers of our Constitution and form of government. They were reasonable men. They developed a constitution and form of government for reasonable men. They argued, debated, compromised as reasonable men. If you have learned that the facts of political and social life are not always easy to ascertain, and that once ascertained the solutions are not always easy to agree upon and once agreed upon, not always easy to implement — and that in matters of social action there are wide areas for adjustment and accommodation without sacrifice of basic principle — you should celebrate your achievement and mark one or all annual rings with it. For what this world needs more than anything else in these troubled days is men of reason. The hysteria of advocates on the extreme left or the extreme right may agitate but will not solve problems. True enough, reason will not convince anyone who refuses to listen to it. In the tense relations between states it is evident that certain countries and leaders do not want to listen to it. In the end, however, the world will either be guided and controlled by reason, or it will blow up. Let the men and women of reason come of age annually with each Commencement in this country. They give the support our nation needs to preserve our ideals and in the struggle for survival; they hold our own ship of state in California on an even keel; on the personal level they will find the best adjustment to daily living.

There is one other mark you should identify on one or more of your annual records. It is the time or times that one of your professors by an anecdote, by a casual remark, possibly by an entire lecture, illuminated a whole field of thought or knowledge which until that time was confusing or obscure. I can recall a number of such instances from my own undergraduate years. Four or five stand out in every detail. I can hear them still after the passage of more than three decades. Before you leave this campus you might do well to fix in your memory such incidents from your own experience representative of the best relationship between teacher and student. When much is forgotten, these episodes will remain.

Now what about your own goals for the future? The rings of your own life experience will continue to grow. What are a few things you may expect to mark upon them?

1. You owe it to yourself to develop your maximum potential. Have you completed your education to accomplish your own goal? If not, go on, continue with your education, complete it, do it when and while you can. Work or borrow if you need to, obtain a grant if you are

eligible — but do it. You will never regret developing and strengthening your talents and proficiencies.

2. Remember that self-development is based on freedom, and that the college is a place for the free expression of ideas. There are always people, some with the best of intentions but with a limited point of view, who, for one reason or another, will exercise pressure to suppress that freedom. Yet that very freedom with its risks of sometimes being ill-advised or abused is the edge which a free society has over a totalitarian in the competition which has become part of our daily life. As graduates, remember and support the academic freedom you wanted your college to have when you were undergraduates.

3. As citizens you have the privilege and responsibility of voting. Anyone who participated in or observed the last presidential election understands that every vote is important; a citizen's vote is a decision of government. Yours should be an informed vote based on a fair analysis and evaluation of issues and candidates. The most powerful symbol of freedom in the world is the American citizen entering the cloistered privacy of his voting booth.

4. Your generation will determine the success of desegregation in schools, in housing and economic opportunity. You will have to overcome the prejudices of the past and the present. If you help solve this problem, each of you by some concrete act, you will be fulfilling the promise and the challenge of your citizenship. Collectively you took a firm step, later confirmed by the trustees, when you determined that you would not engage in any future football games which would involve discrimination against any members of your team.

5. About the cultural level: establish homes where your children hear good speech from you and from those around them, have good books in the house, be selective in your television programs for the family and you will strike some blows for American culture that will be felt.

6. Many of you will be teachers: this is a great calling and your opportunities are immense. In your hands will be the education of future generations of Americans. From a layman's point of view you might remember this — it's the subject that counts, it's the hard core of knowledge that counts, it's developing the critical and creative faculties of your students that counts — and the methods of teaching are simply means to an end. Particularly in junior high and secondary schools the subject is the thing: learn it, know it, teach it, and if you are one of those adventurous souls (and I am afraid this must come after some home experience) who wish to spend some time in teaching and training teachers in underdeveloped countries, we can spare you: the good you can do humanity will more than make up for the inconvenience you may cause us.

7. If you are a science or business major who had to forego the humanities in large part because of curriculum requirements, take some arts courses in graduate school, in adult education, in extension, over TV, if any are available. If you are an arts major who neglected to investigate the world of mathematics and physics, at least take a general course in science from one of the same sources.

8. If you are a foreign student, I hope that you have enjoyed your studies and your life here. If there have been some difficulties, try to help a fellow countryman avoid the same pitfalls. Under any circumstances you should know that we want you to return to your country to do your best for it; to remember that in extending educational opportunity to you we have had nothing to propagandize or sell to you, and have nothing to ask of you except to remember three things:

i. Our ideals here are for a free society stressing the worth of each individual;

ii. We have been making steady progress toward these ideals since 1776; and

iii. These ideals are for all men everywhere.

Many people worry about college students and graduates and the uncertainties you and the rest of us face. I look upon it differently. I think you have almost unlimited goals. You are the first generation that can reach for the moon and actually touch it. To many of you will come the opportunity, in some degree, to participate in the growth of the great State of California; to many the opportunity of developing much further the vast natural resources of this region; to all of you will come the opportunity in some degree to help hold this small planet together; to make it a better place to live for all men; to enjoy and share a richer personal and community life and to help strengthen this country so that its great influence among the nations will effectuate that peace with freedom which is our most cherished goal. There will be many annual rings for you to mark.

I congratulate you on these opportunities and pray that you will make the most of them.

A Look at Academic Freedom

Commencement Address
Long Beach State College
June 9, 1961

(A version was reprinted in: ***Challenge to American Youth,*** Philip Angeles, Ed. [Macrae Smith Co.: Philadelphia, 1963])

I am honored by the invitation of the faculty and students to give this commencement address at Long Beach State College. You have the reputation of being a lively college. There is always something brewing and bubbling here. Now, what is an appropriate subject for a commencement address to the graduating class of a lively college?

I believe that in view of your evident interest in the campus as it relates to the community, a fit topic is "A Trustee Looks at Academic Freedom." This may come as somewhat of a surprise to you because ordinarily discussion of the subject of academic freedom, in college circles, is regarded as the sole preserve of the academic family. But since as graduates, in varying "degrees" of relationship, you will remain in the academic family, and since the public has a great interest and stake in academic freedom, both with reference to its exercise and its responsibility, I propose for a time this afternoon to enter upon this preserve and shoot a few arrows at a few of the more obvious targets. It is only fair to add two qualifications: (i) I am speaking as only one trustee of the State Colleges and not for all of them; and (ii) I am speaking in terms of general principles and not with reference to any situation in any of our State Colleges.

Academic freedom is an ancient heritage and has been variously defined. According to one authority, it is principally designed "to protect the teacher from hazards that tend to prevent him from meeting his obligation in the pursuit of truth." According to another, it "is the assertion that scholars, teacher and student both, shall have the freedom to study, teach, publish and discuss that which they themselves consider to be appropriate to the field of their competence or study; it exists only if these rights can be exercised without fear of punitive actions that will affect the present or future welfare of the scholar." It has also been said "that the freedoms of the scholar are simply the freedoms of thought and speech which all individuals claim, and that the scholar has no special rights that are not given to other citizens." But the term as commonly used does imply certain rights and obligations peculiar to the university or college atmosphere.

It is worth underlining that academic freedom relates to the pursuit of truth, and not necessarily to its capture. Thus the conscientious teachers in the thirteenth century who may have taught that the earth is stationary

in the center of the universe were probably discharging their teaching responsibilities just as were those who taught biology before Darwin and those who taught physics before Einstein. The borders of knowledge limit the expression of academic freedom. And who today knows for certain which of the many economic theories explaining the cause and cure of the economic cycle is the true one? So it is in the *quest* for truth that the important freedom of the scholar lies.

This whole concept has a considerable history which at this time we can only touch upon. But it is important to pause a moment and refer to two factors from the past which give color and meaning to our subject. One rests in the origin of the university or college as we know it; the other in the philosophy of eighteenth century thought as exemplified by the utterances of the founding fathers of our Constitution and form of government.

Our institutions of higher education are the direct descendants of the medieval European university. The very structure, ritual and nomenclature of a modern college has medieval roots. It is true that some of the titles had a little different meaning than they have today. For example, "Master," "Doctor" and "Professor" in a medieval university described the same person, and the terms "Chancellor" and "Regent" had a different connotation, but most of the old terms are still used in one form or another. For better or for worse, the idea of exacting oaths from teachers and students has come down to us from these early days. In the Middle Ages a supplicant for a degree had to swear that he attended the university lectures; when he was a candidate for an examination he had to swear that he would not offer a bribe to the examiner, and the examiner had to swear that he would not receive one. Moreover, the candidate in some universities swore that he would not wreak his vengeance by knife or dagger upon an examiner who failed him. The obedience to almost every university regulation was enforced by an oath. The whole system was predicated on penalties for perjury, involving spiritual penalties in this life and in the life hereafter. Subsequently, it was found that the fine of a half crown proved to be a better deterrent and was adopted.

The most important aspect of the medieval university was its independence: it had its own guild or corporate structure and was self-governing. In some places it was more independent of the Church than in others, but in all cases it evidenced its ecclesiastical origins. (The independent church orders also had considerable freedom to operate their own affairs.) Actually, a medieval university such as Oxford was a unit of government. If its scholars became involved, as they did, in tavern brawls in the town, and someone was injured or killed in the struggle, the medieval university exercised criminal jurisdiction and decided the cases. Indeed, when the townspeople of Oxford caused a

number of fatalities among the Oxford scholars, the university (besides invoking other penalties) imposed an annual fine and penance "in perpetuity" on the municipal authorities and it was not until 1829, after the passage of almost five hundred years, that the mayor of Oxford ceased to come to a university chapel with his hat in hand, meekly to do penance and apologize for an incident that occurred in 1354! Actually, Oxford was a small town away from the main currents of political and social life, and the masters and scholars ordinarily pursued their studies in their own way and under their own rules, free from the interference of king or bishop. Still, isolation was not necessary to the security of the medieval university. One of the greatest of the medieval universities was that of Paris, called "the elder daughter of the King." The governmental administration of France was quite dependent upon selecting its advisors and administrators from the students trained and developed in that university. And the King gave a special protection to the university; even in the bitter wars between England and France, the English students attending the University of Paris were fully protected. Even the Inquisition was held back by the intellectual ramparts of this great institution and its cruel instruments were blunted in northern France.

Thus the medieval university in its corporate capacity had special rights and privileges. It was in its own way a sanctuary. The scholar within its walls had the freedom to study, to discuss and to argue, and often when he ventured beyond its walls the long arm of the university stretched out to shield him. Grants from the sovereign or from the Church, fees collected from the scholars, chests or endowments to which the public made contributions, all supported the finances of the university. These institutions were small islands of light in a dark sea of illiteracy. Their members were privileged and constituted an elite. They were citadels of the intellect, strong, independent and respected.

I do not mean to suggest that these very early universities were superior to modern institutions; naturally their curriculum was restricted to the confines of knowledge and thought then available; much of what they taught is now disproved or discredited. But their independent structure is the source of the special claim of academic freedom today.

As I have previously indicated, there is a second historical experience that bears upon our subject. In the latter part of the eighteenth century along the Atlantic seaboard of the Thirteen Colonies, there existed a body of men of extraordinary breadth and stature, especially in their understanding of the theory and the art of government. They had inherited the best of the English tradition concerning individual freedoms; indeed they were its guardians at a time when the mother country was neglecting them. They were learned in the French writings and the aspirations expressed in them for political and social freedom,

and they were responsible for our Declaration of Independence, our Constitution and appended Bill of Rights. They reached their final decisions on the Constitution after undergoing the experience of an inadequate system of government under the Articles of Confederation and after much debate, controversy and compromise. The most relevant point which we can mention about their deliberations and their expressions is that they were the work of reasonable men. The eighteenth century is titled the Age of Reason. The Federalist Papers which were designed to persuade the people of the sovereign states to support the adoption of the Federal Constitution of the United States are masterpieces of persuasion and of reason. This was not the forum for the hot-tempered, the extremist, the demagogue. These men fought hard for their views and they won — with *reason*. And one of their victories was the First Amendment.

In these days when controversies occur concerning the application of our constitutional rights and privileges, they are sometimes urged in a spirit of heat and hysteria which would not be understandable to those who wrote our basic documents. It may well be that there are occasions when our freedom to think, to believe and to express must be asserted in strong and passionate terms, and it is true that the rule of reason is not written into the Constitution to control what we think and how we express it. Nevertheless, of all places where we might expect that the exercise of these rights would reflect their eighteenth century enlightened American origin, where we might expect more light than heat, it is on the college campus. This is where we should find, in discussions pro and con, the greatest degree of objectivity on the part of faculty and students; this is where we should find the most evident desire to have fair play for all competing points of view and to have them properly analyzed and represented.

Now the modern universities and colleges, both public and private, have lost some of the administrative privileges which distinguished the university guild or public corporation of the Middle Ages. But there lingers in their tradition the idea of a special sanctuary. We continue to believe that of all places on earth the college campus should be the most protected area for free discussion and comparison of ideas, the busiest marketplace for the exchange of knowledge, the farthest frontier from which most adventures into learning may be undertaken. In this favorable climate academic freedom should flourish, and with it the larger right of freedom of speech. Indeed there is an interrelationship between the two: The scholar should always speak as a reasonable man inside or outside the "sanctuary." The scholar's claim of academic freedom carries with it its own particular obligations.

May I enlarge upon this statement by suggesting certain principles which might cover the modern college faculty (later I will deal with the students) in the exercise of their freedoms and responsibilities:

1. Academic freedom is assured to a scholar who meets his obligation to be honest in his work. He makes his presentation in the classroom after having made diligent inquiry and research; his goal is that of impartiality and objectivity and he is prepared to accept or revise the conclusions and evaluations which are dictated by his work. It is essential to the survival of our society that this freedom, so exercised, be zealously protected by all of us.

It does not follow that a scholar need always be completely neutral in giving his evaluations or conclusions. However, it is important that he indicate such bias as he may have, and that he recognize and give full attention and emphasis to different or opposing positions.

But if a faculty member has an overriding loyalty contrary to the scholarship standards which I have described, if his conclusions and evaluations are dictated by dogma of the totalitarian left, or of the totalitarian right, he will have forfeited his right to the protection of that academic freedom which he seeks to dishonor or to destroy. Indeed, he has no place on the faculty.

2. If the faculty member uses the authority of his academic position to win the support of his students for his own political or social points of view in public controversial matters, the right of academic freedom is abused. In other words, he has the responsibility to refrain from indoctrinating his students. He still retains his right to participate as a citizen in political activity and, what is more, he can encourage students as citizens to participate in such activity in accordance with their preferences.

3. If the faculty member addresses the general public on a pending public issue, he is speaking as a citizen but still has special obligations imposed by his position. In the words of the American Association of University Professors which were viewed favorably by the State Board of Education:

> As a man of learning and an educational officer, he should remember that the public may judge his profession and his institution by his utterances. Hence he should at all times be accurate, should exercise appropriate restraint, should show respect for the opinions of others, and should make every effort to indicate that he is not an institutional spokesman.

Admittedly it is sometimes difficult for a faculty member to effect complete disassociation from his college. The purpose of the

disassociation is, of course, to show that his opinion on a public issue is his own and that he is not using his association to obtain a hearing or to make his point. A good test as to whether he is using the institution as an instrument for the promulgation of ideas which otherwise might not obtain an audience is to ask, "Would this statement of views be of interest without indicating it came from Professor Jones of Calford College?"

4. If the faculty member enters into the arena of public controversy, he can expect that his views will encounter objections and criticism just as in the case of any other citizen. The college association will confer no immunity against counterattack, but his right, as described, to speak as a citizen should not affect his status as a faculty member.

5. When the faculty member acts in accord with the principles of academic freedom, he is assured against any reprisals that would affect his welfare as a scholar. If disciplinary or punitive action is attempted, he should protect his position by following the orderly procedures of investigation and appeal set up within each college, and if the problem remains, by following the appropriate state procedure of appeal or review, and not attempt to try his case in advance by newspaper, demonstration or other device of public clamor, which is contrary to the dignity and tradition of his profession.

What about the students? In medieval times the students were considered to be scholars along with their masters and entitled to many of the same privileges. Learning freedom is a natural coroliary to teaching freedom and certainly applies to our colleges of today. The student's freedom to learn is as broad as his professor's freedom to teach.

The current issue is the manner and extent of student participation in the area of public controversial questions. On this matter the experience of the medieval university offers few parallels. Students were always involved in some controversy with a town official in the early days. The Middle Ages were violent times, and students often carried their bows and arrows and used them in the streets. These students were a hardy lot, although some were little more than fourteen years of age; they had traveled long distances over primitive roads and braved the attacks of highwaymen merely to join the university; and they insisted on full tankards of ale and would have shot a tavernkeeper who demanded an ID card.

Times have changed and with it the relations between Town and Gown. The Gown lives according to the rules of the Town, and not vice versa.

For a great many years the attitude of the American student toward public issues has been one of apathy and indifference. He has poured his energies into the extracurricular activities of the campus, into

intramural and extramural athletic competitions and contests and into the self-government of the student body. Only in the area of the student press has there been a real sensitivity to freedom of expression; as soon as a student becomes editor of his college newspaper he tends to feel the power, if not the restraint, of a Walter Lippmann and he proceeds to declare his views for the benefit of the student body and society. There is a certain exuberance in college newspapers that is refreshing, and in general, I think, they have established a very good record.

This situation is beginning to change, as you know. How should we regard this change? Before answering the question it may be of interest to compare student activities in Europe and in Latin America. There has been a tradition in European universities, especially on the Continent, to participate directly in affairs of state. The sixteen demands of the ill-fated Hungarian revolution were formulated by a student union. Students in France and Italy have manned the barricades and joined in demonstrations and strikes. In the few universities in Africa modeled after European universities, the students are actively engaged in movements for social and political reform. (This is bound to be the case where the masses of a country are illiterate and where the natural leadership will come from the privileged few who are in attendance in the halls of higher learning.)

Perhaps the greatest and most influential activity among students is shown in Latin American institutions of higher learning. There, students have been in the vanguard of revolution and reform. In some of the Latin American countries the students participate in the councils which employ the faculty. If they don't like the way a faculty member teaches, or what he teaches, out he goes. In more than one instance, if the students did not like an examination, they have struck and walked out on it.

I would not be surprised if some of you would have liked to have walked out on certain of your examinations or to have struck against some direction to prepare a term paper by a given date. And it may be that you would have welcomed the opportunity to have shared in the employment of your own instructors. It might be pleasant to speculate upon these possibilities. The truth is that student control over faculty does not help the cause of academic freedom or of truth. A faculty which cowers before its students has lost its freedom and its authority.

American student expression on public issues is developing in these particulars:

1. There are many student forums on campus in which the issues of the day are presented by public figures who are subjected to the cross-examination of free student inquiry.

2. The major political parties have established student clubs on many campuses; this is in line with citizenship responsibilities.

3. There have been a number of demonstrations over various issues ranging from disarmament to Congressional inquiry to capital punishment. Such demonstrations are supported by the right of assembly. On the whole, however, the American student does not like to carry banners or to march under slogans or to engage in mass demonstrations.

Now I would not, if I could, try to stop the awakening interest of American students in the political and social and international issues of the day. I think it is an extremely healthy development. This is a tense and serious world in which we live, and the question of survival is the most important of them all. It is right and proper that the students of our colleges should recognize and consider these vital issues. You are called upon sooner or later to serve in our military forces, you may be candidates for the Peace Corps; the world may not be your oyster, but it is at least your prickly pear, and you may want to stick a fork into it.

If you do — and when I say "you" I am referring to college students generally — I suggest that the following principles might govern student expression:

1. Student forums should not be one-sided but should present varying or opposing viewpoints upon controversial issues by competent and responsible authorities. (This does not mean that all points of view have equal validity.)

2. Group student expression should be an expression emanating *from* the campus and not be an expression or demonstration directed or manipulated from the outside.

3. While students cannot be held to the same background of scholarship or objectivity as the faculty, they should recognize that what they do and say — and how they say and do it (in good taste or in bad) — will be considered by the public as indicative of the kind of education they are receiving at the institution they attend.

4. When students express themselves as citizens they should not use the name or the identification of the college; they should make it clear that they are speaking or acting on their own.

5. It should not be expected in a country such as ours, where government is stable and literacy is high, that student political activity would be effective in the same way or would take the same form as in countries where these conditions do not obtain.

Naturally, the Trustees of the State Colleges are concerned with the protection of academic freedom in the State Colleges, and with the general right of freedom of expression. We are just as concerned with the responsibilities that go hand in hand with these freedoms. We are prepared to do our share to defend these freedoms and to protect against their abuse.

In the last analysis, however, the exercise of academic freedom and related responsibilities does not begin with the Legislature, or the Governor, or the Trustees, or the Chancellor. These are matters which are the direct concern of each of the colleges — its faculty (especially the new senate or council formed, or in the process of formation, in all of the State Colleges), administration and students.

Be conscious of these important rights and responsibilities. Support your college in their proper exercise. Apply the principle of reasonableness in making your own decisions on public issues — when you vote, when you determine to join or not to join one group or another, when you urge some course for the civic welfare. Read your newspaper, listen to your radio, watch your TV — critically. Exhibit that amiable skepticism that has made Missouri a famous state. Don't be fenced in by your own or anyone else's preconceived notions. Form your opinions after the facts, not before. Just be a decent, fair-minded human being — willing to listen and to look, to read and to examine before you act — and you will have justified your college education and all the ancient traditions of academic freedom. What is more, you will be the kind of citizen we need most.

Cal Poly — Right Side Up

Address to the Sixty-Fifth Anniversary Convocation Commemorating the Founding of California State Polytechnic College, San Luis Obispo March 8, 1966

Threescore and five years ago California State Polytechnic was founded as the result of the inspiration and perseverance of an Angel. This Angel, whose first name was Myron, was a leading citizen of the town of San Luis Obispo. He was a West Point graduate and had come to California in 1849 to seek his fortune. At the end of a long and difficult journey he had arrived in San Francisco, hungry and penniless, in desperate need of work, and he was offered a job as a roofer. But he could not take it because he had never learned how to drive a nail. Then and there Angel resolved (so the story goes) to harp on the idea that some day, on these Pacific shores, there must be established a school where a boy could learn to use his hands as well as his head, where the practical and the vocational would be the governing principle of instruction.

It took more than 50 years to realize this objective. But in 1901 the Legislature, with the support of Mr. Angel and many other outstanding citizens, including David Starr Jordan of Stanford, acted and established the California Polytechnic School. In 1903 the school, a three-year institution accepting students at the age of fifteen, opened its doors. Its statutory charter read: "The purpose of the School is to furnish young people of both sexes mental and manual training in the arts and sciences, including agriculture, mechanics, engineering, business methods, domestic, economic and such other branches as will fit the students for the nonprofessional walks of life." The first catalog of 1903 added: "In the present day, when science is doing so much to unravel the mysteries concerning plant and animal life, it is important that the state provide a school where the facts and principles unfolded by science can be demonstrated to the boy and girl who will return to their home and make its life more attractive, more livable and more remunerative."

A more general purpose was also stated to the effect that studies would be included that treat of "a man's dealings with man and his duties as a citizen." Reference was made to academic work in English, history and economics.

The entire course of study, for all three years, was set forth on two-thirds of a printed page. Three teachers and fourteen students constituted the school. The sum of $50,000 had been appropriated for site purchase, construction and the first operating budget.

The school developed slowly, but from the earliest days stressed a policy of earning while learning and to some extent the project method of teaching. Soon the vocational idea was also adopted and made part of the regular secondary public school system, and the little school in San Luis Obispo had difficulty in drawing students from their home communities. World War I was the basis for recruitment for the army rather than for the school; nevertheless, the school succeeded in adding a fourth year. In the 1920's a junior college division was included, making Cal Poly a six-year institution; six new buildings appeared; the enrollment exceeded 600 and prospects were noticeably improved. But the horizon darkened again; the depression of the early 30's engulfed the school, the enrollment dwindled to 104 and the state was on the brink of abolishing the institution.

At this point in 1933, figuratively on his Arabian charger,* enters Julian A. McPhee, Chief of the Bureau of Agricultural Education of the State Department of Education. He always had had faith in the idea of Cal Poly, so he was persuaded to devote half time as president, the successor to six other presidents, including the late Margaret Chase of this city. Half time for McPhee is full time for anybody else. Then began to operate that driving, dedicated force for faculty recruitment, lobbying, building construction, land acquisition, curriculum expansion, consolidation of educational program, articulation of Cal Poly philosophy, community involvement, alumni involvement, foundation involvement, employer involvement, student orientation and motivation, celebrations, Poly Royals, which over the years was to transform a few buildings on a hillside campus, mostly located within two blocks, into a nationally recognized institution sprawling over 4,000 acres — with the largest undergraduate enrollment in agriculture in the United States and the largest engineering college in the West, with other departments of comparable quality, with students seeking entrance in ever increasing numbers, students from every county in this state, from all of the other states and in extraordinary numbers from overseas.

What precisely happened? Would this energy have been released and this process of development have occurred in any event? For example, was the growth due to the phenomenon currently referred to as the population explosion? No! The new position of Cal Poly was well established by the time the depression babies from the smaller families of the 30's were eligible for college admission.

---

*W.K. Kellogg gave seventy Arabian horses to Cal Poly in 1950 in connection with the College's animal husbandry program. These horses formed the nucleus of a spectacular Arabian horse show given every Sunday by Cal Poly in Pomona. President McPhee was particularly proud of the gift and the performance.

Was there an element of luck? Yes, a little bit o'luck. Unexpected financial support came from an unanticipated source. The parimutuel horse-racing fund authorized in 1933 carried with it secondary distributions of funds to Cal Poly and to the Davis branch of the University of California. The allocations were substantial, far more than previous budgets, and helped greatly to provide a building program here.

Was there an unusual demand for occupation-oriented education? Yes, this was one of the results of the economic depression of the 30's.

Was the growth due to the fact that Dr. McPhee became a full-time president in 1949? Partly so, but this added service was more an effect than a cause of the growth.

Was it due to the president's enormous personal activity and leadership in all of the areas mentioned; his intimate knowledge of the processes and pressures of the state government; his famous arm-twisting which was a fully developed technique by Dr. McPhee before Mr. Johnson ever employed it? Yes! Certainly all these attributes were essential to the financing, growth and the rising prestige of Cal Poly, but for these results to have been achieved — there had to be and still must exist more than the energy of a man, there must be the dynamism of an idea behind him and of its appeal to students. It is the *idea* of Cal Poly that convinced the state authorities in 1940 to convert this institution into a full-fledged college granting bachelor degrees; that caused the Kellogg family to convey the site of the Pomona campus and the Voorhis family to convey the San Dimas campus intact; and that has inspired and excited the educational reviews and comments in the *Christian Science Monitor*, *The Reader's Digest* and other popular as well as professional periodicals. Dr. McPhee had unswerving faith in the educational purposes and the direction of Cal Poly. That is the touchstone of its success. Some of these purposes he took over and enlarged, others he developed. These, as you know, may be summarized as follows:

1. There has been and always will be need of an occupation-oriented applied science college in the State College System in California.
2. The upside-down procedure of instruction — the practical first, theory after, an early choice of major — is a most effective method of interesting a student in his college education; he soon learns whether or not he has made a wise choice and he soon realizes the need for "theory" courses.
3. An interested student is a motivated student, therefore a good student.
4. The project method of instruction wherein a student is given a particular task to perform — care for and raise livestock, rehabilitate a broken engine, print a newspaper — is a proven technique to develop

creativity and responsibility in him and an incentive for the more rapid acquisition of further skills and knowledge.

5. Earning while learning opens up economic opportunity, encourages self-reliance and a sharing in the world's work which is what he will be doing for most of his life.

6. The requirement of an undergraduate seminar and thesis trains the student to present a clear and logical exposition of a problem and brings together many phases of the student's previous preparation. It is not surprising that the Western College Association, in its accreditation survey of Cal Poly concluded as follows:

> The college probably comes close to exemplifying in practice what is popularly conceived as being the Jeffersonian theory of democratic education, according to which the artisan, the mechanic and the agriculturist would be informed and enlightened citizens of the Republic. Your committee was impressed by the clearness with which the objectives of the college were stated, the whole-hearted endorsement of those objectives by the faculty — a wholesome minority dissenting — and the effectiveness with which those objectives are reduced to practice, as manifested in classroom lectures, the seriousness of the students and their achievement. As a result your committee feels that there is a definite place for such an institution in the educational hierarchy of the state. It stands midway between the strictly theoretical and cultural approach and the out-and-out vocational approach.
>
> The approval of Cal Poly might well serve to delimit the accrediting activities of the Association. After the manner of the old-fashioned geography teacher we might then give the boundaries of the Association somewhat as follows: It is bounded on the north by Cal Tech, the school of pure science; on the south by Cal Poly, the school of applied science; on the east by the schools of pure liberal arts; and on the west by California, the university of complex organization. The capital of this territory is General Education, to which all subjects must pay homage, albeit in differing degrees of loyalty.

Also to the point is the report of the Higher Commission of the Northwest Association of Secondary and Higher Schools on Cal Poly dated October 1958, which states:

> The conclusion is inescapable that here is an institution with a sense of direction based upon an awareness and pride

in its history, an effective staffing for determining the salient facts with respect to its present status, and sound planning together with high morale for projection into the future.

Having stated this it is obvious to say that the College is fortunate in the leadership of its president and those who share his vision and the responsibility for translating it into the programs which are discussed in the report.

The catalogue of courses is now more a book than a pamphlet and the offerings that used to be set forth on a page now require hundreds of pages. The buildings on the Cal Poly campuses cost about $100 million. The $75,000 operating budget which Dr. McPhee inherited in 1933 has become $14 million, of which $8 million is allocated here. The 104 students of 1933 have become 11,000 full-time students in 1966. But the same theme animates the catalogue and generates enthusiasm among the students, the legislators and the citizens. It is not often that a man can sit upon an Arabian horse and look down into the valley and up into the hills and see a living monument around him on three campuses, but Dr. McPhee can do it — given a little time to ride 250 miles. In a third of a century he has built half-a-hundred buildings and with his faculty influenced and inspired thousands of useful lives and contributed largely to a great educational idea; in due course it may happen that one of these surrounding bald peaks may be named or renamed San Julian Obispo.

These remarks are entitled "Cal Poly — Right Side Up." The reason should be obvious. Perhaps the upside-down procedure is the right one after all. It might be applied or adapted to a college concentrating on the liberal arts, at least in some phase of the social sciences, perhaps in English composition and other subjects. The project method, individual or as a team technique, seems adaptable to the general arts and sciences, though the earning while learning phase of it would be more difficult to apply. The experience of writing a comprehensive thesis in one's major or in related fields (however painful in preparation) is one of the most unifying and satisfying intellectual experiences any undergraduate may have and is in the best tradition of the English liberal arts colleges; it is a requirement that could be employed by all of our colleges. I suppose that what I am suggesting is that the difference between a liberal arts approach and an applied arts approach may not be as great as some believe it to be, particularly when the approach of Cal Poly is in between.

Looking at the Cal Poly side of the coin, I have a feeling that when you dig deep you can also dig wide. A student in animal husbandry, caring, feeding and being responsible for other living things, is closer to the major concerns of the humanities than he may think and can be

easily guided to them; agriculture is intimately related with economics and with political science; architecture is also partly history and partly art; in a rich curriculum it is not so much a case of applied science as of the science of application. Channels can be cut from applied arts and sciences to the general arts and sciences in almost every course. It may well be that in the years to come Cal Poly, while keeping its emphasis and its motivation (a program to which we are committed), may pioneer new relationships with the arts and sciences; may tie in avocations with vocations; and may attack curricula to meet man's need to occupy his leisure with the same originality and enthusiasm as it has to meet his need for a job.

Insofar as applied science curricula are concerned, it may prove advisable for other colleges to take a leaf out of the Cal Poly book.

It is true that our country is now enjoying a period of affluence and prosperity, but there are substantial segments of people in California as elsewhere who have the same or a greater need to acquire skills in order to start up the economic ladder as did the needy unemployed population of the 30's. These are people who require the utmost appeal to interest and motivation in the educational process. A great many of them should be accommodated in the junior colleges (which should revive and reinvigorate some of their terminal vocational programs), but a good many of them should be attracted to a four-year, vocation-oriented program.

The Cal Poly idea may very well be the best long-range answer to the domestic and international problems we are now hoping to alleviate on a short-term basis by our War on Poverty and our international aid programs to underdeveloped nations. The present expansion of the Cal Poly philosophy to three overseas bases for technical assistance (Tanzania, Zambia, and Sudan) is a natural outgrowth of programs on the San Luis Obispo campus during the past 15 years in which nearly 5,000 agricultural specialists, technicians and officials were brought here from foreign countries by the federal government. These trainees, after receiving technical assistance training of four weeks' duration or more, have returned to their respective foreign lands convinced that the type of educational opportunity provided to American students on the Cal Poly campus is the kind required in their own homelands. In addition to these large numbers of foreign student trainees brought to Cal Poly by the federal government for less than four-year programs, approximately 350 students from more than 60 foreign countries are in attendance here each year in programs leading to the bachelor of science degree. The United States Department of State is calling increasingly upon Cal Poly to provide leadership in educational programming which will help in the struggle for freedom — freedom from poverty, from hunger, from disease and from ignorance.

The future of Cal Poly has already been chartered in a five-year plan, in a ten-year plan and in an imaginative speech of Vice President Kennedy's covering the period up to 1990, which was delivered over a year ago to your Fall Conference of Faculty and Staff. Vice President Kennedy prophesies that Cal Poly will always be in the vanguard of the latest educational developments and in the use of the most advanced educational techniques. He envisions that by 1990 Cal Poly will have become a household word wherever men produce food, build schools, reshape cities or construct factories and, in fact, that Cal Poly will have won a Congressional Medal of Honor for its part in preserving the peace. I hail the optimistic spirit of these predictions. Cal Poly's dreams usually come true.

The Trustees of the State Colleges are deeply proud of Cal Poly and join with other state authorities and the community in congratulating you on this 65th year of your youth, on the achievements of your great president, your faculty, your students and your alumni, on the uniqueness of your contribution, on the spirit of your campuses and on the great expectations for the years to come.

Higher Education for the Millions

(Originally printed in *California, the Dynamic State*, Charlotte, N.C.: McNally and Loftin, Pubs., 1968)

In the summer of 1960 my wife and I were touring in southern France, in the valley of the Dordogne. One of the most interesting experiences was a visit to an ancient castle on a cliff high above the valley, particularly because of the age and charm of the tour guide.

She was all of eleven years old and gave her lecture in the clear, clipped English of the born linguist who had learned the language at school. Her mastery of the facts was complete; she answered questions easily; she filled in blanks of history in every room about the ancestral owners, their works, their weddings and their wars. She asked her own questions and seemed delighted that we had come from California; "it is also a sunny land."

I asked her how long she had been a guide in the castle and she replied, "My grandmother has been taking the tickets for a long time and I have been taking the people for about a year."

For a moment I was appalled — the thought crossed my mind that this precocious, talented child had been compelled to drop out of school and would be a prisoner of this routine until some day she would succeed her gnarled grandmother as the ticket taker.

I asked her about her future — whether she had left school.

"No, no," she said proudly. "I have been selected; I go to the lycee next year. We have the opportunity here, too, to go ahead just like in California with your Mister Plan, no, I think it is your Master Plan."

I was astounded. The relationship between the French scholarship program in the lycee and our higher education system was somewhat remote, but that this child had heard about the California Master Plan, within a few months after its passage, that she immediately equated it with educational opportunity, this was news indeed. (She had learned about the Master Plan from an article appearing in a French newspaper.)

Apparently the Master Plan had captured the imaginations of more than the Ministers and Departments of Education of the United States and the Western world.

Why? What is there about this Plan — properly called "A Master Plan for Higher Education in California 1960-1975" — that, from the start, has been so provocative and has had such appeal for so many people? I would suggest a threefold answer: In the first place, the world is turning to education (perhaps too much) to solve all its problems. A bold program in education is likely to meet with an immediate response. Second, the idea that higher, as well as lower, education should be available to anyone who can qualify for it is close to the democratic

ideal. Finally, the very fact that educational opportunity is embodied in a Plan, in a great design for the future, provides an assurance, a stabilizing influence, that is sorely needed in these troubled times.

Basically, the Master Plan tells a California youngster: "If you have a high school diploma (or in an exceptional case if you do not have such a diploma but you give promise of learning), you may be admitted to higher education, tuition free. If you are in the upper one-eighth of high school graduates, you will be eligible for the University; if in the upper one-third, for the State Colleges; otherwise, whatever your rank, top or bottom, you may go to a junior (two-year) college in your community. If you do satisfactory work there in the required curriculum for two years, you may then, if you desire, transfer to a State College or University campus for upper division and graduate education." At present there are nine campuses of the University, eighteen State Colleges and almost eighty Junior Colleges. It is the most generous system of public higher education in the world.

There are some of much intellect and little faith who consider it *too* generous. They argue, why should everybody go to college? Every youngster is not a student; if he wants to waste his time, it shouldn't be at state expense. Moreover, only a portion of an entering class finishes the course and graduates on schedule. About one in two at the University and State Colleges and, on the average, one-half of the Junior College freshmen leave by the end of the first year. But the point of the Plan is that every youngster should be given an *opportunity* to realize his potential. Achievement is not assured; success is not guaranteed. The late bloomer (who becomes motivated and finds himself in Junior College) is a precious flower; he is the symbol of conservation of our human resources. Even those who leave after completing a partial program have benefited to some degree; many return to continue their education at a later time. Those who drop out permanently at least have the satisfaction, in most cases, of having tried and avoided a lifetime sense of frustration for not having tried. And since, economically, it has been demonstrated that the average lifetime income usually increases with each year of educational training, it may be that they have gained something in spite of themselves and beyond their expectations.

I do not mean to justify a high dropout rate; to the fullest extent feasible, by wise high school and college counseling and effective admissions controls, the youngster who will never adjust to higher education should be discouraged at the start. In the meantime, the Master Plan quite properly presumes in favor of the student as the intended beneficiary.

Well, what about the Plan? Did some don or dean just sit down and write it? Of course not; it has its history like everything else.

In a sense it began with the pioneers in 1849 at their Convention to provide California with a Constitution. They were debating the provisions of the Constitution at a time when things were pretty much at a standstill; the laborers on the ranches and the seamen from the ships had gone in search of gold. The tax outlook was gloomy. But they decided to insert a provision which would prevent any diversion of school funds to any other object and another provision that funds appropriated for University purposes would be held as a perpetual fund for future use. It took twenty years to obtain the University, but the delegates argued that it was impossible to create too large a fund for the purpose of education. "We can bring the president of Oxford University here by offering a sufficient salary," one of them said, in mistaken confidence.

The segments which constitute the building blocks of the Master Plan evolved over the years.

The University of California was founded in 1868 and opened in temporary buildings in Oakland in September of 1869, with a registration of forty students. The newspaper *Alta California* reported: "In the most quiet and unobtrusive manner possible, an event took place yesterday destined, we trust, to exercise an incalculable influence upon the future of this State. The University of California commenced its functions. No grand speeches or flourishes of trumpets were indulged in, but in the most practical businesslike way imaginable the professors commenced in real earnest the duties of their offices."

The students subscribed to the following obligation: "We severally enter this University with a full understanding and acknowledgment of these truths, viz: It is the duty of every student to submit to the rules and government of the University. No competition, pledge, promise or vow can create an obligation to violate duty."

There have been changes since 1869. A few years later the University was moved to Berkeley. The campus grew at a leisurely pace along with the rest of the state. In 1909 it commenced operations at the University farm at Davis. In 1919 it established a southern branch in Los Angeles which became the University of California at Los Angeles in 1927. Other campuses have been added at an accelerating rate, but the special feature of its growth is that the University spread from Berkeley and until recently the tendency has been to retain controls at the center.

The University has a worldwide reputation based on an outstanding faculty — its Nobel laureates and Guggenheim Fellows are legendary; its vast contributions to the state's and the nation's welfare — in agricultural extension and experimentation, in the development of atomic physics and other scientific fields, in its array of professional schools, institutes and bureaus, in its varied and active student body (there are more Peace Corps volunteers from the University of

California at Berkeley than from any other single campus), and in its extraordinary physical plant.

The State Colleges originated before the University of California; they started as normal schools to train elementary teachers. The first was commenced in San Francisco in the early 1850's but was removed to San Jose in 1857 because of the alleged sinfulness and temptations of the city. Other normal schools were established as required and all of them were loosely tied to the State Board of Education which acted in a general supervisory capacity. In the 1940's the colleges began to broaden their offerings and subsequently most of them became full-fledged liberal arts institutions as well as continuing to train teachers and offer curricula in the vocational fields. These colleges were separately organized and developed independently. Their background was decentralized and they have been drawn together under the Master Plan.

The State Colleges have trained three-fourths of the elementary and secondary teachers educated in the State of California. Numerically they educate more undergraduates than any other four-year institutions in the state. The State College professor teaches an average load of twelve units compared with the six to nine units of the University professor, who is expected to engage in much more research activity. The colleges also give master's degrees in many fields. The quality of their teaching is exceptional and they constitute the largest system of higher education (four-year institutions) in the Western world.

The Junior Colleges are mostly products of the twentieth century. The first junior college in California was established in 1907. They were created to respond to the needs of each community and are financed mostly by the community. They are administered entirely by local boards.

Since inception these colleges have been part of the public school system. But they have developed away from the school system into institutions of higher education dealing with general education on the one hand and terminal vocational education on the other. Training in machine accounting, merchandising, business sciences and restaurant and hotel management are typical vocational programs.

Over 80% of the high school graduates in the state live within commuting distance of a junior college. Thus a student can begin his college education inexpensively while living and probably working part time in his home community. The Junior Colleges are at the base of the academic pyramid in California. They are the open door to higher education. As may be expected, they have the largest number of students of any of the segments, almost half a million. In many respects

they do the most difficult and important job of any of the segments — they determine which students should go on to further higher educational opportunity.

The public segments educate over 90% of the California students in higher education. The 30 or more private colleges, while taking care of only a small percentage of the students, nevertheless perform a signal service. In many cases they are academic pacesetters and they are in a position to engage in certain experimental programs which in the long run will benefit all of the segments.

Our state has been self-conscious about its higher education. Beginning in 1899 eight official bodies have studied and surveyed the needs of California higher education, each building on the research of its predecessors. In 1945 a Liaison Committee was created by the Regents of the University and the State Board of Education for the sole purpose of adjusting relationships between the several public segments of higher education in order to avoid overlapping and wasteful expenditures. But in 1959, in spite of all of the prior reports and the diligent work of the Liaison Committee, higher education in California was in difficulty.

Since World War II we have had a knowledge explosion and a population explosion. California began increasing its population at a rate exceeding 1,000 people per day. The public schools were overcrowded and the future registration in higher education was foretold by the massive registration in the elementary schools. It was obvious that students for all segments would be available in abundance. Enrollment of full-time students would triple by 1975, but higher education lacked a sense of direction and the question arose where and to whom these students should go. Each segment put in a prior claim. Many Junior Colleges desired to become four-year institutions, many State Colleges wanted to become universities, and the University desired to conserve and expand its own position. The State Colleges were particularly restive and desired some kind of union and organization which would take them away from the Board of Education and identify them as institutions comparable with the leading teaching colleges throughout the country.

The communities of the state were bringing impossible pressures on their legislators. Almost every community wanted to enhance its prestige by bringing to it a state college in the same way as an earlier generation tried to bring back a marble post office. Over twenty-three bills were introduced in the 1959 Legislature seeking the establishment of a new institution of higher learning or the study for one (usually a state college) in various parts of the state, including the mountain counties. The most cursory review of population estimates and these conflicting trends convinced the state government officials and educators that higher education would have to follow some rational design or in the

near future the costs of its uncontrolled growth and competition would bankrupt the state.

So Governor Brown and the Education Committees of the Assembly and the Senate advised the Regents of the University and the State Board of Education that higher education must put its house in order. The educators were ready for the challenge. They offered a moratorium on building institutions (University campuses and the State Colleges) not theretofor approved if they were given adequate time to develop an overall program for the future. Thus, Assembly Concurrent Resolution 88 was born, superseding all of the twenty-three bills which were held in abeyance. By this resolution, the Liaison Committee was requested to develop a Master Plan for Higher Education in a little more than six months time.

Then there were assembled the policy and technical experts of higher education in California to make the study: a Master Plan Survey team, chaired by Arthur G. Coons, President of Occidental College; advisory groups from the Legislature, state departments and the public and private colleges of the state; technical committees and staff from public and private colleges to report on Enrollment Projections, Selection and Retention of Students, Adult Education, California's Ability to Finance Higher Education, Recruitment and Faculty, and Institutional Capacity and Area Needs. They worked, they reviewed, they discussed, they argued, they recommended; the Liaison Committee considered, adjusted, and submitted; the Regents of the University and the Board of Education, meeting jointly, heard, questioned and decided, and the Master Plan in the form of a unanimous recommendation was transmitted to the Governor and Legislature for their adoption. Governor Brown called a special session in the spring of 1960 to act upon it.

Certain features of the Plan were the subject of considerable debate prior to final resolution. One such problem concerned the nature of the body which should control or guide the public segments in their operations and in their expansion. Should one superboard take over the entire administration? Then it could allocate programs and funds. The Committee decided against such a superboard. In the first place it would have too much to do. One of the reasons for removing the State Colleges from the jurisdiction of the Board of Education was that the Board already had more than it properly could be asked to handle, namely, the educational system from the kindergarten through the colleges. The creation of a new board which would have the responsibility for administering all of higher education would be to substitute one overburdened agency for another. Moreover, such an administrative board would be subject to impossible internal pressures. It would be urged to favor the university and relegate the colleges to second-rate

institutions or prefer the colleges and dilute the influence and effectiveness of the university. Also, to administer to the needs of 80 junior colleges would make the task hopelessly complicated. It was decided that competition between the segments in the pursuit of excellence was healthy; all that was required was that it be regulated, and that coordination was preferable to single direction.

A second problem was that state college representatives desired research opportunity comparable to that extended the academic personnel of the university. This issue was settled by permitting the colleges to engage in research incidental to instruction but not "pure" research that sought, irrespective of instruction, to extend the frontiers of knowledge. The question remains whether the research function can be thus divided but that was the compromise reached.

And finally, there was the question of how the Plan should be implemented. Only part of the Plan required legislative action. The balance constituted a kind of testament of unwritten law or guidelines for carrying out the core program. But the educators recommended that the core program (the organizational part) be incorporated in a Constitutional Amendment to be submitted to the electorate by the Legislature. Then, every phase of higher education would have the same Constitutional status as that of the University of California. The Regents of the University desired such a Constitutional Amendment to freeze and control the jurisdiction of the other segments, especially the State Colleges, and the colleges wanted their existence and powers protected by Constitutional immunities.

This objective of the educators met with the opposition of many powerful members of the Legislature. The Legislature was willing to create an entirely new Board of Trustees modeled after the Regents to administer the State Colleges but not with the length of terms or powers independent of fiscal controls which characterized the Regents. They were not willing to give a blank check to a new and untried board. For a time the educators were deeply disappointed. They felt that the Constitutional structure was the *sine qua non* of a Master Plan.

The issue was drawn when Governor Brown called a policy conference in his office. In attendance were representatives of both Houses of the Legislature, the State Director of Finance, representatives of the Regents and the Board of Education. When it became clear in the discussion that there would be a statutory plan or nothing, the Board of Education members stated that they were prepared to yield but the University representatives still had reservations. Governor Brown determined the issue. "We all have worked too hard on this for us to scrap it. Let's put it into law; if experience confirms it, we can put it into the Constitution and if experience suggests changes, we can amend it much more easily than if we had put it into the Cons itution." This seemed a

practical and sensible solution and there was a feeling of relief. The Plan proceeded to legislative enactment and the Governor's signature. The Act was entitled the Donahoe Act, in memory of Dorothy M. Donahoe, author of the concurrent resolution and vigorous supporter of the Plan.

Governor Brown has demonstrated his interest and support of higher education on numerous occasions. By law he is president of both the Regents of the University and the State College Trustees and attends their meetings as much as circumstances permit. In a crisis situation he is always there. He reads extensively in higher education literature. From time to time he entertains at his executive mansion members of all of the higher education boards and exchanges views with them. At a recent luncheon meeting of the Coordinating Council with the Governor, Arthur Coons, now President of the Council, told the Governor on its behalf: "Your mark on the higher education of this state has been made for years to come. You have appointed every member of the State Board of Education which deals with junior colleges. You have appointed all sixteen appointive members of the State College Trustees and you have filled a large number of vacancies on the Board of Regents as they have occurred. You have appointed all of the public members of the Coordinating Council. You were essential to the establishment of the Master Plan and your people — your appointees — have the solemn obligation to carry it out with your continuing support. I give you the Master Plan, sir, which some people have referred to as the Coons Plan but which has become the Brown Plan."

I might add that the appointees of the Governor are as independent and express as many individual viewpoints as though they had been appointed by several governors. There is no attempt to influence them from the top.

The Master Plan provided for the following:

1. It assigned the tasks of higher education to the respective segments. The University was authorized to teach all subjects but it was recognized as the primary state-supported institution for research; it was confirmed as the sole authority to award the doctorate in all fields of learning except that it was permitted to agree with the State Colleges to award a joint doctorate degree. It was given exclusive jurisdiction over education for the professions of medicine, law, veterinary medicine, dentistry and graduate architecture. Thus the state is protected against a proliferated effort by every college that might demand its own cyclotron and expensive scientific equipment or which might be tempted to establish a series of costly professional schools.

2. The State Colleges have a clear mandate to provide instruction in the liberal arts and sciences and in professions other than those reserved

to the University, including teacher training, engineering, social work and other fields through the master's degree. Faculty research pertaining to instruction is authorized. The doctoral degree may, as noted, be given jointly with the University. The mission of the colleges as teaching institutions is clearly recognized.

3. The Junior Colleges are limited to two years of post-high-school curriculum. They have exclusive jurisdiction over terminal vocational courses. They are to be the principal instructors in the lower division grades for general education and for transfer to the State Colleges and University. By 1975 it is intended that 50,000 students who otherwise would go to the University and the State Colleges will be diverted to the Junior Colleges because by that year the lower divisions of the University and the State Colleges will be restricted to 40% of the undergraduate student body. By 1975 it is further intended that 45% of junior college operating costs be financed by state funds. The Junior Colleges will become more and more a source of students for the University and the State Colleges, the transfers to take place at the end of two years of junior college work.

The Plan created a separate Board of Trustees for the State Colleges giving the Trustees and the colleges independent status and recognition. The Trustees were made the governing body in charge of the entire system but the law did not give the same complete fiscal powers as held by the Board of Regents. The structure of the Board was patterned after the Board of Regents but with eight-year instead of sixteen-year terms for the members.

The Plan created a Coordinating Council for Higher Education to oversee the segments in the implementation of assigned tasks, to assure that the segments will have an orderly growth, to comment on the proposed levels of support for the several segments, to gather data and study problems affecting the several segments such as the transfer and flow of students among them, the recruitment and retention of faculty, the efficient use of plant capacity, the development of admission policies consistent with the Plan and other matters of a like nature. The Coordinating Council consists of six public members, three representatives from each public segment and three from the private college sector. It has no executive powers. Its advice, however, is to be given publicly to each segment, to the Governor and to the Legislature.

The Plan recommended early construction of three new University campuses and establishment of two new State Colleges.

Finally, the Master Plan requires each segment to pursue excellence and quality in its sphere.

The Plan has been five years in operation. What has been achieved?

Certainly wasteful competition between the segments has been pretty well eliminated. The Junior Colleges no longer prepare to be upper division

institutions. The State Colleges have refused the offer of several medical schools to attach themselves, and they have restricted their building program to comply with the research limitations imposed upon them. The University has eliminated a number of semi-professional programs which are more appropriate for the State Colleges. In the adult field of extension education the University concentrates on classes of graduate students, lawyers who desire to specialize, review or extend their legal education, engineers who wish to update their information, etc. The State Colleges' extension program specializes in general education and refresher education for public school teachers. (These emphases are not exclusive.)

The admissions requirements of the Master Plan have been carried out. The University takes students only from the upper one-eighth and the State Colleges from the upper one-third of the high school graduating classes.

The new Board of Trustees of the State Colleges has developed a complete program of the functions that had to be centralized. They have delegated the central administrative function to a Chancellor and his staff. They have established a flexible master curricular plan which governs the growth and academic relationships of the eighteen colleges. In accordance with the overall plan each of the colleges has its own master curricular plan for its specialized development. The expansion of each college is determined by a master building plan which translates the academic needs into the physical requirements. (The architectural improvements on campuses are almost unbelievable.) The Trustees have spent over $250 million in expanding and in building new colleges.

The Chancellor and the Trustees have encouraged the development of strong and widely based faculty senates in each college to advise each president on the campus program. They have established a statewide faculty senate which advises the Chancellor and the Trustees on academic and staff problems of every nature. They have developed a ten-year library improvement program which is designed to bring the libraries of the colleges from a critically low point to a competitive place with the libraries of colleges throughout the country. They have developed general guidelines for the use of educational television by the colleges. They have established a relationship with the governing bodies of all of the student bodies of the State Colleges through their Student Presidents' Association.

The governance of the Regents, along similar but not parallel lines, has been in effect for many years.

How has the Coordinating Council worked? The Coordinating Council has been most effective in controlling expansion. A new campus is not started or authorized without its consent. It has approved two new University campuses to be built in the Los Angeles and San

Francisco metropolitan areas. It has approved a new campus for a State College in the Bakersfield area and it has approved the location of campuses in Ventura, San Mateo, and Contra Costa. The Council has not yet approved the establishment of these campuses but has authorized the acquisition of sites for them.

The Council took a long hard look at land in the population centers of the state and decided that unimproved land appropriate for college or university building is disappearing at an alarmingly high rate. Therefore it has advised: look ahead, obtain sites by gift or purchase, but prepare for the future *now* lest you wait too long and are compelled to pay high urban prices for property you once might have secured as a rural or semi-rural area.

In just a few years, the following campuses have come into being: the Universities at Irvine, San Diego and Santa Cruz, and the State Colleges at San Bernardino and in the vicinity of the Los Angeles airport. Most of the University campuses will ultimately enroll 27,500 students and most State Colleges, 20,000.

Year-around operation of the University and the State Colleges has been approved to obtain maximum use of plant and to accommodate the maximum number of students. The program will begin on campuses whose limit of plant capacity has been reached or approximated.

The diversion of students to Junior Colleges has already started. In 1965 for the first time the number of students entering the State Colleges was greater from the Junior Colleges (15,000 plus) than from freshmen (14,000 plus). The transfer rate to the University has not yet increased to the extent desired.

The habit of planning has been a profound effect of the Master Plan itself. Already mentioned have been the master curricular plans of colleges together with the master building plans; these, of course, have their counterparts in the University. President Clark Kerr of the University has issued a revised growth plan for the University to the year 2000. Chancellor Glenn S. Dumke of the State Colleges has projected college expansion and requirements for a period of fifteen years. The whole thrust of higher education in California is to look forward. A plan is no sooner developed than it is reviewed and, if necessary, revised. Many programs of the Trustees of the State Colleges are subject to annual review. University programs for the reform of its organization, for decentralization, for student discipline, for educational development have been issuing in a steady stream. The Master Plan itself has been reviewed recently by the Coordinating Council and is presently undergoing a review by a legislative committee.

A characteristic of this kind of planning is its flexibility. Nothing is absolutely fixed. But there is a continuing and fixed interest in the problem.

Experts continue to deal with and attack the problem in the light of what has occurred during the past year or two.

This type of planning encourages individuality. The Regents and the Trustees desire each campus to be different. The Santa Cruz campus of the University with its cluster live-in colleges, with professors and students working and living together will, by its very nature and plan, be unique in the University system. The new State College at San Bernardino, which emphasizes larger lecture courses on the one hand and smaller classes on the other (depending on the subject) and which reduces the number of subjects to be taken by the students, will be different from the other colleges.

The unusually heterogeneous student body of the University at Berkeley is bound to call for an academic program different from that of the other University campuses. Cal Poly has been doubly assured of its right to continue with its own philosophy of vocational education in which the freshmen select their major in their first year, which teaches practice before theory and which has been characterized as the upside-down program of college education. The student at Cal Poly cares for an animal in animal husbandry or works in the print shop in connection with his journalism or assembles a computer in connection with his mathematics. Motivation is high in his select vocational field.

Examples could be multiplied but what is certain is that although California has two of the greatest mass systems of education yet devised anywhere (plus the Junior Colleges) it has provided particular assurance for variety and individuality. These institutions are not factories of higher education.

The Junior Colleges are so decentralized that they have no other course but to demonstrate a high degree of individuality. The problem with the Junior Colleges is more to centralize certain essential tasks common to all of them.

The segments have been urged to pursue excellence. This is a difficult achievement to measure. A class of marginal students who are motivated to interests and achievements beyond their dreams may be a better example of excellence achieved than a high I.Q. group which maintains itself by coasting along. A junior college with an extremely high dropout rate may actually be doing splendid work by applying a fair but meaningful screening process. The recruitment of a single inspired teacher or a single great chancellor on a university campus or a president of a state college may be the most significant step in the pursuit of excellence attained by the institution during the whole year. A report of a faculty committee which seeks to improve faculty-student relations may be the start of a reform which will last for half a century.

There is one area of excellence which may be evaluated apart from the student and curriculum. It is the contact between the community in

which the campus is located and the campus itself. The campus has become the center in most communities of theatre, art, music and culture. In the fall of last year there were four national theatrical companies on the road outside of New York; three of them were traveling by bus. But, if you check the performances of the theatrical groups of the University, the State Colleges, and the Junior Colleges, it will be apparent that a year-round season is in effect throughout the state.

It would be giving a false picture to refer to achievements and not to any problems. The best laid plans of men run into difficulties.

After the State Colleges had been organized under the Trustees for about two years, a number of the faculty expressed the concern that the administration was unduly infringing on the independence of the colleges, that the consultative process should be materially improved and that the Board of Trustees should delegate much more of its authority. Their demands resulted from the tension which frequently occurs when a group of independent entities are gathered suddenly into a federated system. However, the demands were the subject of an exhaustive survey by a joint committee of faculty, administration and trustees, which led to marked improvements in the system.

During the same period, the University has been delegating progressively greater authority to the chancellors, and the State College system is also increasing the extent of delegation of the colleges.

On account of the tremendous growth in higher education, California has difficulty in meeting its annual needs for new faculty. A substantial number of positions were left unfilled during the past two years. The competition for new faculty is aggravated because college enrollments over all of the United States have increased, California must obtain almost half of its recruits from out of state, and available instructors and professors are in short supply. California must do better than any other state in faculty salaries, benefits and working conditions if it is to maintain quality in higher education, and probably should anticipate its adjustments a year or more in advance.

The joint doctorate between the University and the State Colleges has worked with a minimum degree of efficiency. One degree has been authorized and another is in process. What may well be required is that the State Colleges be authorized to grant doctorates in a limited area for the purpose of completing the training of college teachers.

There is a lack of mobility for junior college transfers. Some junior college graduates may be admitted to one state college but not to another and to one university campus but not to another because of different course requirements for admission to each college or university campus. The Junior Colleges have been educating an increasing share of the state's students without an adequate increase in state financial support.

At a time when industry has a need for skilled personnel the trend in junior college education has been to emphasize the academic as against the vocational. The ratio of programs used to be half and half; now the vocational is very much less. This change is partly the result of individual and community demand, but it's an unfortunate and unrealistic development.

The tuition-free principle has been under attack. The Master Plan does require nonresidents to pay instructional costs and all students to pay *noninstructional costs* such as athletic fees, infirmary charges, laboratory costs, etc. But, as a greater percentage of high school graduates seek higher education (and facing the estimate that by 1975 California will have over 25 million inhabitants and by the year 2000 over 40 million inhabitants), the pressure to charge tuition is growing.

As of the moment the estimates of the Master Plan (which run only to 1975) show that the increased income of California residents, the increased tax collections anticipated, and the probable demands of higher education against the tax dollar will continue to be sufficient to support tuition-free education for the next ten years. There are opinions to the contrary. Admittedly most other states have provided for tuition charges of varying amounts. But California's industrial and agricultural strength has been derived in part from its support of tuition-free higher education. The educators believe that in the long run California will suffer rather than benefit from any kind of tuition charge. The dollars spent on higher education usually come back multiplied in the form of increased tax contributions to the local, federal and state governments after the student leaves the college or university campus. The financial picture is being helped by the fact that California can expect to receive, in 1966-67, almost $86,000,000 from the federal government in connection with construction, work study and student loans in the higher education field.

The minority populations in the state are not sufficiently represented in higher education. The causes are complex: economic, cultural, insufficient information, lack of motivation. Public school teachers must be helped in their efforts to encourage students to continue with their formal education — especially students from low-income families. This is the object of a joint federal and state project called "Operation Fair Chance," involving the State Colleges at Fresno and Hayward, the State Department of Education and the University of California.

Some students contend that the Plan has forgotten them. They believe that in spite of all the lip service given to individualism and academic freedom, they have been placed on an academic assembly line destined to become standardized products. They are lonely in the academic metropolis and are rebelling against their fate. They are impelled to defy conformity, real or imagined, in many quarters.

The Free Speech Movement drew the attention of the world to Berkeley. The immediate issue was the right of university students to be political activists on the campus and to speak out on political issues. The problem was partially resolved after the student sit-in on a basis which protected the right of free speech, but also protected the educational process by requiring that student political activity meet reasonable requirements of time, place and manner. The Governor supported the students in their right of free speech but insisted that the law applied to the campus, as everywhere else, and had to be enforced.

The most constructive result of the student protests, as may be expected, is another plan. This has been developed by the Select Committee of the Academic Senate of the University of California at Berkeley. It has made 42 recommendations looking toward the establishment of better faculty-student relations, more personal contact between faculty and students, a renewed emphasis on teaching, smaller classes (even freshmen seminars), less pressure for grades in areas where grades are not necessary to the student's major program, and the establishment of a Board of Economic Development in the faculty to stimulate and promote experimentation and innovation in all sectors of the curriculum. The report recognizes that most students at Berkeley are satisfied with the curriculum and pattern of education on the campus, but that a substantial minority, including some of the best students, have raised questions which must be considered. At the same time the report does not accept the efforts of certain students to substitute non-responsibility and easygoing procedures for the painful process of thinking or to transfer to the campus some intellectual labor-saving devices which have never worked before and will not work now. It is a report showing great understanding and compassion for the student and, whether accepted in whole or in part, will be studied wherever multiversities or congested colleges exist.

Notwithstanding these criticisms (not so much of the Plan, but of the implementation), the Master Plan continues to be hailed by most experts who have studied it. Dr. James Conant has stated that it is a program for other states and countries to emulate though they need not be bound by all of the details. A great many states have initiated a coordinated system of higher education along the lines of our Plan. A few are attempting to regulate their program under a superboard. But no state which has undertaken a higher education program since 1960 has been unaffected by the California contribution. Great Britain, in particular, sent over a special delegation to study the Plan before it embarked on its own program of expansion in higher education. France, which has always taken pride in the quality of its public education system, is aware of the California contribution as it is determining its own manner of adjusting its system to meet the demands of quantity.

The vast majority of the students, even on the most congested campus, knows that freedom cannot be exercised without responsibility. When a few students and campus hangers-on uttered four-letter words over the loudspeaker system at Berkeley, the general student condemnation was loud and clear — through the student press, over the same loudspeaker, and by the Free Speech Movement itself. When a campus editor at California State College, Los Angeles, brought a self-styled expert and advocate of free love to the campus and the students heard what he had to say, they expressed indignation at the invitation and at the address. The editor himself issued an apology and characterized the speech as nauseous. The students, if given a chance, will know and declare the limits of good taste. Of course, there will always be an intransigent marginal group, by reason of political conviction or other indoctrination, who will not listen to any program except perhaps anarchy, if this is a program. This phenomenon is a concomitant of free education and opportunity, but to believe that this recalcitrant group will lead the rest of the students is to have no faith in the young, and that faith I have.

The Master Plan is a dream of pioneers, come largely true. It is daring, exciting, idealistic and, in a way, intensely practical. The state profits much from the learning of its citizens. The Plan is a new expression of the pioneer spirit, a huge effort to bring everyone to his own frontier. No other nation, state or commonwealth has carried out this purpose quite so far.

It's imperfect, as always are the designs of men; it has not achieved all of its goals; some great nugget of achievement will always be sought over the next hill, on the other side of the valley, beyond the horizon. But to try to educate a whole people, as far as they will go, that's good. That's shooting high.

Cost too much? Well, it costs about $120 million to build a full-fledged State College for 20,000 students, and about $240 million to build a University campus for 27,000 students. These are close to the going prices for a nuclear submarine and an aircraft carrier, equipped, and about half the cost of a lunar space vehicle. Have you a doubt that we can afford it?

The Values of a Liberal Education

Commencement Address
California State College at Dominguez Hills
June 9, 1967

Chancellor Dumke, President Cain, members of the graduating class and friends:

It is a privilege for me to participate in this particular commencement ceremony, to speak to the first graduating class of the California State College at Dominguez Hills, the newest of our colleges. In the years to come this institution will graduate 40, and later 400, and in about 20 years, 4,000, but there will never be another occasion like this. Now you are four — the pioneers, the beginners of the beginning, destined, we hope, to be the four patriarchs of Dominguez Hills.

When the halls of learning are completed across the way and the auditoria and gymnasia are in place and the courts filled to overflowing with undergraduate fauna and California flora, you will come back to your Alma Mater as venerated alumni of an ancient era. Special pictures will be taken of you for the yearbook, you will be asked how it was in the rough log cabin days when the wild boar and pterodactyls roamed the countryside and cattle grazed on the campus site, you will be prodded to explain how it was possible to learn enough to qualify for a degree in such primitive circumstances, and you will answer with tall tales.

You may or may not tell the future generations of undergraduates some of the unusual advantages you have enjoyed: having the educational facilities under one roof and easily available and taking your instruction under near tutorial conditions. The ratio of students to faculty during the period of your instruction has been about five to one, while the average throughout the State Colleges is approximately 17 to 1. The ratio of library books to enrolled students during the period of your instruction has been 333 to 1, while the general state college average is 30 to 1. Your opportunities for close association with your faculty and quick access to books have been unrivaled and I understand that you have taken due advantage of them.

Some of these special conditions will disappear as the campus is developed. The day will come when your successor students will have to walk substantial distances from class to class, when full-scale athletic fields and equipment will replace your meager facilities of ping-pong and volleyball, when long registration lines and complicated admission procedures will have to be substituted for the simple and more direct procedures now available, when it will take longer to obtain a book or an interview with a professor. But I do hope and indeed I know that

under the wise leadership of your able and resourceful president, Leo Cain, that certain of the unique qualities already evident in this small campus will continue and be augmented.

We have high hopes that the distinguished faculty which has been brought to this campus will in turn recruit men and women of like character and ability to make up the enlarged faculty required to serve the expanded enrollment. We trust that succeeding generations of students will be able to share some of the benefits of the individual attention you have received (as you know, there are plans for a Small College, to be formed within the larger institution, and to be of an experimental nature which will help accomplish this objective).

In many respects it is extraordinary that a college so young has been able to achieve such well-defined purposes and procedures and such a mature educational program. I daresay that thorough planning was one of the fringe benefits of the unusually long period of gestation which gave birth to this college.

I know that the faculty, administration and students are engaged in planning additional unique and important programs. Your concern with bringing the culturally disadvantaged into the academic community, your initial efforts in the urban problems field, as evidenced by a Conference on Urban and Environmental Design to be held under the college auspices next week, show your concern for the community around you. Your efforts to bring the students into more meaningful association in the governance of student and academic affairs — through student participation on faculty committees and vice versa — indicate that this college desires to grow with the times.

But the burden of my remarks this evening will not be directed so much to the unique methods and programs that this college thus far has developed and is planning for the future, with the encouragement of the Trustees and the Chancellor, as it will be to the objectives which this college shares with the other colleges of our system, serving close to 172,000 students.

In substance I would like to talk a few moments about the values of a "liberal education," a phrase in very common use (frequently stated to be the goal of our State Colleges), but rather difficult to define.

A liberal education includes instruction in the liberal arts; there were seven of these in medieval times — grammar (including literature), logic, rhetoric (including law and composition in prose and verse), geometry (actually more in the nature of geography and natural history), arithmetic, music and astronomy. Now we usually refer to the liberal arts as letters and science or allocate them as your three major schools have done. The term liberal education has a long history and meaning. It is more than letters and science. It seeks to develop certain intellectual virtues. As Mark van Doren has said, "The aim of liberal

education is one's own excellence, the perfection of one's own intellectual character" — so that one is educated "not merely to know, but also and indeed chiefly, to be."

A liberally educated man has achieved a large measure of objectivity; a habit of thinking; an appreciation that substance and good form usually go together; a state of mind that reflects more of idealism than of cynicism and a deep concern that if any factor in a problem is more important than any other, it is the human element. Although true liberal education deals with relatively exact subject matter (mathematics and the sciences) as well as subjects more usually considered inexact, the popular meaning of "liberal" has always emphasized the inexact or uncertain areas and, in particular, has opposed the subject matter of a liberal education to technology.

There was a time after Sputnik when the idea of a liberal education, in this narrow and conventional sense, was under serious criticism. The feeling was rife that American education had neglected technology and the exact sciences and that we were providing a 19th century education which was wholly inadequate to meet 20th century problems.

Unquestionably it was advisable to stimulate an interest in the sciences and in mathematics from the grade schools up. But it was soon recognized that what we required was coexistence between the sciences and the other areas of learning and not the substitution of one set of requirements for the other; actually, we needed to restore the unity of the "liberal arts." As I have mentioned previously, your college has recognized very well the interdependence of the principal fields of knowledge.

We now understand that the decisions on the most important problems affecting our daily lives will be made either by broad-gauged men trained in the liberal arts (in the broad traditional sense) and stressing the human element or narrow-gauged men trained technically or without much respect to them.

This is a most important matter. The ability to produce, to build, to publish, to make weapons, to manufacture quantity, does not assure quality or progress. It makes a great deal of difference to know in whose hands the control of modern techniques is delivered and for what purposes. Whether science and technology will improve society depends greatly on the kind of people who are the leaders of that society. The world stands a better chance if men and women of liberal education have their (reluctant) fingers on the triggers, their hands on the budgets, their direction of mass media, their guidance of education itself. The liberally educated man is more inclined to put the human element first in the determination of problems, more likely to entertain divergent points of view, more concerned to be reasonable in making decisions.

This does not mean that the man principally educated in the liberal arts, other than science, is not the product of discipline. Humanities and the fine arts and the social and behavorial sciences are less exact than the sciences per se, but in recent years the sciences themselves have discovered that in many of their most fundamental assumptions they have had to make adjustments; *they* have not been exact. Perhaps what the sciences have done for the less exact liberal arts in recent years is to make them more conscious of their own formal requirements, of their own disciplinary needs. There seems to be no question but that the college classroom, whatever the subject, has become a harder test and a more sophisticated experience than it was in my own generation.

The academic dialogue in the classroom has a number of distinctive attributes. It is free ranging, it is unhurried, it is unafraid. Yet, it seeks to be pertinent to the issues discussed, and opinions are usually responsible since they are subject to comment and criticism from professor and student alike. It is expected that the discussion be of such form and substance that it is relevant to a discipline.

In a small college such as this you would find it somewhat ludicrous to leave your classroom building and suddenly find yourselves involved in discussions and actions almost entirely contrary to the discussions which you had just left. In other words, if the main interest, as soon as you were out of the classroom, was to seek to hear speakers from off campus who were irresponsibly extreme and if they were expected to ignore most of the criteria of fact, reason, and good taste that are assumed in the classroom, you would be participating in a kind of slum intellectual project which many of you would find distasteful. This is what is happening on a number of the larger campuses in America.

In addition, on some of the larger campuses we find students engaged in extracurricular activities of two kinds — activist and escapist. The activists are usually involved in supporting or opposing some local, national or political program. Such participation and commitment are often commendable and, indeed, essential, but on occasion groups of students engage in political or social action which, in substance or form, is far out from reasonableness. A complex problem becomes simplified out of all context; mass action and demonstration become the substitute for responsible argument and discussion. Slogans are substituted for sentences, shouts for thoughts. Regular channels which are provided for protest are ignored. It is hard to reconcile a liberal education with this kind of activity.

I have in mind an incident which occurred in one of our own colleges when a president was being inaugurated. A small group of students with picket signs, some of them personally insulting to the college leadership, entered the stadium where the ceremony was held. The subject of most of the signs was a protest against the present college policy of sending a

student's academic rank, at his request, to the Selective Service Board. The pickets waved their signs during the ceremony, they occupied a position on the commons between the stadium audience and the speakers' platform, and from time to time they yelled their demands that class rank be ended instantly, which apparently meant that the ceremonies should be interrupted while the petition of the pickets was granted.

Unquestionably there are certain questions about draft procedure which are serious questions of policy and upon which students, as the individuals directly concerned, have every right to express their views. But when this group conducted itself as it did — at the time and place and in the manner described — it violated a number of important academic precepts and freedoms. In the first place, the inaugural was part of the educational program; it was a ceremony symbolizing the dedication of the college to the objectives of higher education and to the classroom ideals to which reference has previously been made. This group of young people was perfectly willing to interfere with the right of the vast majority to hear and learn so long as it exercised its own right of freedom of speech. It sought at a ceremonial occasion for a solution that was at the moment patently impossible, namely, an instantaneous remedy in a disputed cause. It substituted insult for argument in many of its signs. It was a negation of higher education. No campus should dissolve its self-respect to such a degree of permissiveness that it allows such conduct to take place. I am not suggesting that student forums or protests should refrain from the consideration of the most controversial issues, I am not passing on the merits of the case, but I am saying that standards of responsibility, procedure and good taste must apply to the argument.

Another example of negation is student escapism. There is a minority of students on American campuses who retire into a world of drugs and dreams to evade the realities of the academic world and the world outside. In their way, they seek a kind of instant happiness and a surcease from the pain of disciplined thinking. Instead of seeking to be or become, they want to lose themselves. They too seem to have turned their backs on the values of a liberal education.

However, I have the very optimistic conviction that the leaders and faculty of this college are so ordering its affairs that the students here, as the college grows, will remain faithful to their liberal education commitments. You seem to be appropriately sensitive to the values to be obtained by in-depth learning, by keeping your minds and curricula open to experimentation, by bringing teacher and student together in a close and constructive association, by involving students in the actual social problems of the community around them, by keeping genuinely

busy — and thus should be able to avoid the pitfalls that some older institutions have fallen into.

Unfortunately for the vast numbers of undergraduates throughout the land and for all of us, there is at this hour more to consider than the normal expectancies of peaceful pursuit. Within the past few days the dark clouds of a widening war hung heavy over this disturbed and angry world. The times were out of joint and the mood was one of worry and uncertainty. In the midst of this current crisis when survival itself threatened to become an issue, some of our other concerns seemed trivial: long hair, short skirts, objectionable words and signs. It is not that we wished to discount our other important and pressing problems: the elimination of poverty and political and economic discrimination at home, help to the have-not nations abroad, the settlement of Vietnam. It was simply that the outbreak of bitter hostilities in another part of the world directly involving our interests and commitments placed our true problems in perspective. No problem has meaning if we do not survive to meet it.

The greatest instruments for the achievement of peace and remedy of wrongs are those which have been placed in your hands: moderation and reason, the disciplined, humane voice of a liberal education. At this hour we pray that the leadership of the victor and the vanquished, and of the United States and of the United Nations, will use these very same instruments to establish the conditions of a constructive peace. One of our most difficult problems stems from the fact that the values which we have learned, in the hardest way, to believe vital are not the same values which seem to control the thoughts and actions of all nations. This does not make our mission impossible, but it certainly complicates it.

We can assume only that the values of which I have spoken will be vindicated and that a somewhat tormented but relatively intact world will be handed over to your generation to struggle with, to serve, to govern and to improve. In assuming your responsibilities you might remember that the values which you have learned here, in this very building, are those that will pull you through when the going gets tough, are the values which constitute the underpinning of a decent, civilized world.

It is a parlous time, but as the young and the strong always say in moments of crisis, it's as good a time as any to begin.

Things to Come in California Education

Commencement Address
San Francisco State College
June 11, 1960

President Dumke, members of the 1960 graduating class, candidates for degrees and friends:

I am delighted to participate in these ceremonies at San Francisco State College. You may not know it, your distinguished president may not know it, but we are all lucky to be here. When it was first proposed to establish this college in San Francisco in the year 1870, the then Superintendent of Public Instruction opposed the idea vigorously and argued: "To locate the school in San Francisco would be dropping a drop of literature into an ocean of mammon." So the first state normal school, antecedent of the state college, was established in San Jose, and others were established in Los Angeles, Chico and San Diego before San Francisco. Finally, in 1899, either the ocean of mammon had receded or the drops of literature had become a mighty stream, because it was then deemed suitable to establish your college and it came into being.

I congratulate all of you who are about to receive your education by degrees. You have in your possession something immensely precious, and you *can* take it with you. You *will* take it with you — not all of the knowledge that you crammed into aching heads for final examinations, but such residue of fact and philosophy, such basic professional skills and aptitudes, such development of critical and creative powers as have become part of your intellectual being. And as Mr. Sherlock so well said, the ability to ask that important question, "Why?"

Since we are assembled to honor the graduates particularly and the cause of education which they represent, I would like to take advantage of the occasion to speak for a short while on a subject which should be close to our hearts and interest at this time, namely, about some "Things to Come in California Education." I speak only as a layman expressing personal views, and not as an officer setting forth the position of any state board or agency. I feel authorized to express these views on two counts.

First, the layman, through boards and committees, has always participated in matters of educational policy in California, and second, everybody is an expert on education.

One point is clear: Education is in ferment throughout the State of California. You cannot pick up a newspaper without noting that it has become front-page news. Columns are written about the selection of textbooks, the best way to teach reading, the best plan for higher

education, the issuance of school bonds, whether we should teach algebra in kindergarten and a foreign language in the third grade. Committees of all types have been appointed to survey and report upon various phases of the education system, and their findings have frequently resulted in controversy and the appointment of another committee to resurvey the survey.

I believe that such strong popular interest is good and is justified in view of the immense problems we face. Education in California is trying to adjust to the technological age, to a population explosion, to the needs of democracy and defense, to the demands for leadership, to the possibilities for leisure — all at the same time. It may be helpful, in attempting an estimate for the future, to deal with some of our problems under several obvious headings — the student, the teacher, the curriculum and the physical plant.

The first concern of an educational system is students, and California will have no lack of them. Apparently this is not a new phenomenon. In September of 1851 the *Alta California*, an early San Francisco newspaper, reported: "Youngsters are certainly getting very plentiful in San Francisco. Where such a quantity of children, boys and girls of all ages and sizes, come from it is difficult to tell. But they are here. In the morning, about nine o'clock, little children with shining rose-cheeked faces may be seen tripping across the plaza to school and little boys with satchels scamper home at the close of the day. These are the true future residents of California, the embryo men and women who will take up the future of their great state."

Almost 110 years later the picture is much the same except for the pallor of many children who go zipping to school in automobiles, without their satchels. But youngsters are more plentiful than ever. According to the recent Master Plan Survey of Higher Education, the birthrate in this state has increased 50% since pre-World War II days and people are flocking into California at the rate of 300,000 per year. California must prepare for a population of 25,000,000 by 1975 and 40,000,000 by the end of the century.

As a result there will be a constant race to build elementary and secondary schools fast enough to accommodate our younger children. The average daily attendance is now 3,155,000 students and by 1970 it will be 5,000,000. Three-fourths of a million students then will be enrolled in higher education.

I think that sheer numbers will have their own special effect on the school program. The more students, the more competitive education is likely to be. This does not necessarily mean that education will become more impersonal. In a sense the pressure of numbers will require more personal attention because almost everywhere they will provide the basis for ability groupings within each class. Already many of the public

schools have divided many of their classes into ability groups, and this technique should become more or less common procedure whether these groups are taught in the same or in separate classrooms. The underprivileged student in our present system is the so-called gifted child, and special provision will be made for him. A full report on this important subject is being made to the next session of the Legislature. With or without legislation, the efforts to locate, accelerate and give depth treatment to the education of the gifted child will greatly increase in years to come.

The large numbers of students who will ask to be admitted to universities and state colleges probably will cause these institutions to stiffen their requirements for admission and for the right to remain; we have had evidence of this trend during the last year and such higher educational standards as have been or may be adopted are bound to be reflected all the way down the line to the elementary school. The junior colleges will continue to keep the door open for all high school graduates, including prospective late bloomers. However, they also will be faced with the numbers problem, and I would not be surprised if they were compelled to become somewhat strict in eliminating those who fail to bloom shortly after planting themselves in a college. And those junior colleges which have conducted themselves to any large extent as remedial high schools,trying to do what the high schools should have done, or as neighborhood centers for home crafts (such as millinery) will find money for these purposes more difficult to obtain.

Make no mistake about it: mass education will continue, as it most certainly should, guaranteed by the California Constitution and the Statutes. But the presence and competition of numbers may cause students in the future to regard education more as an opportunity than as a duty. Students in poor or underdeveloped countries understand that education is opportunity. I remember many years ago visiting a sixth-year primary class in a little Mexican village outside of Mexico City called, oddly enough, San Francisco. It was not an official visit; I was a tourist and our car had broken down in the village. The only place of interest to see while it was being repaired was a small school where we soon found ourselves in a sixth-grade classroom seating from 25 to 30 children, all of them poorly dressed and not one of them wearing shoes. But the decorum and solemnity of this classroom were unbelievable. The children were wide-eyed and eager and read from their copybooks almost with reverence. They knew what it meant to have the privilege to learn. Our children, well cared for as they are, may yet develop something of this attitude. When it becomes a prize to be permitted to go forward, students even in a highly developed country will appreciate that education is opportunity and so will their families, and the home may then lend a more helpful hand to the school.

There is nothing undemocratic in raising standards that will challenge every student to reach somewhere near his own capacity. Every child is not guaranteed an education through college, but the chance to obtain one. We will learn to a greater degree than at present that we can extract quality from equality, and be consistent with our ideals of a democracy.

The second factor in education is the teacher, and we will need teachers to match, or perhaps I should say outmatch, our students. While teacher training is a somewhat tender subject, I think it has become apparent that the emphasis is shifting from methods courses to subject courses, from form to substance. The State Board of Education is recommending that holders of the secondary credentials be permitted to teach only in their majors or minors, except in emergency circumstances to be reported to the Board. This underlining of the subject is symptomatic of the tendency to return to fundamentals. It is not that there is any objection to technique or to training in the methods of the presentation of subject matter. The layman understands that a man might be an authority in his field and write learned articles for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and yet not be able to teach his own subject to a third-year class in high school. But excessive analysis and repetition of technical theory do not make teachers, they discourage them. The art of teaching springs mainly from enthusiasm for and knowledge of the subject. There is a strong movement to re-evaluate methods courses in teacher training so that the essential courses will be preserved and the repetitious will be eliminated.

The professor at a state college will play an increasingly vital role in the enlarged state college program. The state colleges are essentially teaching colleges. The instructor or professor is interested primarily in imparting knowledge and in stimulating his students, and his research is undertaken mainly to make him a more effective teacher. His is a great heritage — derived from the philosopher-teachers of Ancient Greece and the traveling teachers of the Middle Ages and the creative teachers of the Renaissance universities. These were the teachers who sought to reach out to their students, not to do a teaching chore as a necessary evil simply to enable them to pursue their own academic interests, valid as they may be. The need for good teachers in the undergraduate divisions of the state colleges and the universities will be greater than ever and it is a challenge I hope a number of you will take up.

There has been a great deal of discussion on the relation of television to education. Some enthusiasts hope that educational costs and efforts may be held in check by substituting courses by television, on a mass basis, for courses on the campus conducted in a conventional manner. Thus vast numbers of students, lolling in armchairs in their slippers and robes, will be able to obtain their education at home, eliminating the bother of parking cars and attending classes. Now I am aware that this

college has an excellent department in television and radio instruction and that it has conducted extensive experiments in order to determine the educational use to which these mass media may be put. Unquestionably television can bring remarkable closeups of laboratory experiments, can show student teachers how primary classes are being conducted miles away from the viewers, can bring authorities from all over the country to the picture rostrum of the college lecture hall, and is at this moment providing valuable supplementary materials to the secondary schools in the Bay Area. But my conjecture is that there are and always will be limits to education by television — it can assist but rarely supplant the teacher. The direct and immediate response between student and teacher is the core of the educational process and this requires, for the most part, the physical presence of both. Undoubtedly it is possible to acquire a considerable measure of education through correspondence schools, television or the plain reading of good books, but most of us do better when the teacher is on the spot.

The third factor in education is curriculum and therein lies many a knotty problem. The trend seems to be to fewer subjects better taught in the primary and secondary schools. In the high schools the trend means for the college bound an increasing stress on the solid subjects — mathematics, science, English, social studies, foreign languages and the elimination of many electives. It means in due course the removal of driver safety instruction, instruction against the use of narcotics and alcohol from the civics courses, and teaching them independently, or to the extent permitted by law, along with physical education. It means the possible adoption of comparative testing of high school students as proposed by Dr. Roy Simpson, or the use of some other device to bring more uniform standards into the secondary schools of the state. It means approaching the teaching of history in schools with some old-fashioned attention to chronology. It means geometry will be another beginning, not an end in the study of mathematics. It means that a student will stay with a foreign language for a sufficient number of years so that a native of the tongue will have a gambler's chance of understanding him, as well as his sympathetic teacher.

A major issue that looms ahead is the place of the humanities in general education, particularly in the colleges. The demands of science and technology to train students in the precise skills of the 20th century press in on all sides from defense, from industry, from business. But the distinguishing mark of Western culture is not the slide rule or the perforated card — it is in the Socratic dialogue, in medieval romance, in Renaissance color, in the 18th century concept of the reasonable man — in the humanities. The Western democracies are held together by their common cultural heritage as much, if not more, than by our military alliances. We must be on guard to preserve the humanities

against encroachment by the technological demands of ou. time — particularly since technology can create leisure but cannot fill it.

At the same time there is a great need for students in the humanities to understand something of the fundamentals of science and technology. It would be unrealistic to try to live a 19th century life in a 20th century environment. That science and the humanities should meet at many times and in many places is well illustrated by the early plan of the City of Berkeley. This city was originally planned as a college town and the first streets running east and west were named after American men of letters; those running north and south after American men of science. Thus do science and the humanities still meet at many intersections in the city across the bay — though I am afraid that the streets running north to south, the science streets, are quite a bit longer.

Another aspect of college curriculum that should concern us now and in the future is fragmentation leading to duplication of courses. Almost every announcement of courses in every institution of higher learning divides and subdivides knowledge to the point where specialization seems to become an end in itself. Courses seem to be created to fill the table of organization of a department pursuant to some corollary of Parkinson's Law. This process is known in the academic trade as proliferation of courses — in more mundane trades, as featherbedding. It seems to many lay participants in the educational program that the academic menu should be reduced to control, if not eliminate, this waste. There is too much to learn on a legitimate basis without repeating courses under different labels.

There is one point in curricular emphasis which seems to meet with general approval. This relates to the teaching of English or, if you prefer, the American language. Our vocabularies may be larger today than they were in bygone days, especially because there are so many names for new things. We are surrounded everywhere by the noise of words. If it is not the teacher, it is our fellow student; if not our friend, our family; if not radio, television; but with all these opportunities for words, we seem less able to put them together than the generations of 50 or 100 years ago. Our statesmen and our executives rely upon ghost writers, but this is a luxury denied most of us. Our lack of discipline in the use of our own language astonishes the world.

There are some zealots who would be willing to throw out about 50 percent of the curriculum if they could be sure that the balance of education would produce graduates who would feel at home in speaking and writing their own tongue. This is a rather complex problem and not easily answered. The kind of language spoken and written results largely from the cultural level and tastes of the community in which we live. Perhaps your generation can do better with your children than preceding generations have done with us. Meanwhile it might help if

high schools gave more attention to composition and grammar in the grading of themes and reports in every subject, not only in English.

Mention should be made of extracurricular activities. In some quarters those who are engaged hotly in the pursuit of excellence want to remove most student activities from the school program, at the extreme, to deny such activities any part of school time. They claim, for example, that there should be no cutting down of the class periods to provide for a rally during all or part of the last period of the day. I believe that there should be sensible limits to academic purification. We should recognize that the spirit which animates many of the extracurricular activities is often the spirit that, at a more mature stage, inspires responsible citizenship and community service. I do not think we should or will eliminate this spirit.

The fourth factor in the educational system is the physical plant. The old saw is that you don't need much of a plant: a teacher and a student on a log make a school. The log has undergone quite a transformation. It became a log cabin, and a little Red School House, and a many-storied school, and a multi-building school and a college campus, equipped with laboratories, dormitories, cafeterias, libraries, everything. There is another change we can expect, particularly on the college campus in California. Higher education will be moved into higher buildings. Land is too costly in urban communities for much horizontal expansion. The colleges will have their share of skyscrapers and will have to fight to save every tree and blade of grass. If any greenery is to decorate the new halls of learning, it will not be ivy but Jack's beanstalk.

This will be no calamity, but it will change the college atmosphere. More difficult will it be to hold on to the leisurely pace, to the calm of the quad, to the glades and to the walks that romanticized an earlier era of the American college. Education will probably be more businesslike in an office-type building. Something will be gained; something will be lost. In any event, it seems inevitable and we must be prepared to shed a nostalgic tear.

School and college construction costs are financed largely by bond issues. With rising costs it is becoming more difficult to obtain a two-thirds majority vote for local school bonds, and the time may come when, through constitutional amendment, it will be necessary to reduce the majority required in such cases to a lesser percentage. Sixty percent has been mentioned — instead of sixty-six and two-thirds percent. And if costs should become overwhelming, we will have to obtain substantial federal aid in addition to state aid.

There is controversy in the matter of school and college architecture. There are some who feel that schools and colleges should be built on as uniform a basis as possible, presenting a solid front of academic barracks and thus holding down cost. Others believe that architectural

differences are both desirable and necessary; indeed, that individuality and community pride are fostered by architectural differences and should be encouraged. In public building good architecture should cost no more. Legislative policy for state colleges supports this approach and this augurs well for the future.

One very impressive accomplishment in the Master Plan statute of which your president was a principal architect is the requirement for coordination, through a council of fifteen, of all future expansion plans of campuses of the University of California and the State Colleges in order to avoid needless competition and duplication of facilities. The Legislature itself did a remarkable thing — it declared the policy that it would not appropriate for campus sites unless selections were made first by the educational authorities, thereby putting aside the greatest of all legislative temptations — log rolling.

Many schools at the present time are being used on a two-shift basis which is an emergency procedure and must be discontinued as soon as new facilities are available. However, all schools and colleges should be used as much of the day and night as there is need therefor. The future may require that state colleges and schools be administered on the quarter system, and thus be about equally busy throughout the year.

In our efforts to improve our educational program for student, teacher and curriculum, we must look in several directions. We must look backward to our early American educational system which, in one way or another, produced some of the greatest minds in the 18th century and to our own early California system whose requirements in the beginning of our statehood matched in many respects those of the best of the New England schools. We must look across the country to other states and beyond the states to other countries, and compare their texts and their methods and their curricula with our own. It is not a question of entering into these comparisons or making these investigations for the purpose of imitation of other systems or the adoption of other values. If the exchange of cultural programs means anything, it should mean that we are prepared to learn from other systems and perhaps adapt, rather than adopt, some of their standards and procedures. (And let me say, notwithstanding these remarks, that we have much to teach other states and countries.) In many cases of our newer arrivals the State of California must perform the educational work which some other state has failed to do, but there are other cases, especially from certain states on the eastern seaboard, where students usually are advanced in the California system because their own prior training has been more advanced. And this frequently is also true of students from abroad who at times may be as much as two to three years ahead of their contemporaries here because of the depth of their disciplines. Differences in objectives may to some extent justify such differences in

educational standards, but, generally, we want our California schools and colleges to be among the best and thus we should be prepared to do comparative testing of whole systems of education.

And, finally, we should look inward and determine what we honestly want from our schools and colleges: Do we want them to be amiable custodians of our young people until industry and commerce are ready to absorb them? Do we want them primarily to adjust their students to live with one another in reasonable harmony and conformity? Or do we want them primarily to give all students the best opportunity possible to realize their full potentials in their own interests and for the benefit of this state and of the nation and of the world? As graduates and friends of a state college which has always taken its academic obligations seriously, I trust that we can assume we will choose this last course. As citizens of a great country which must strengthen its educational system or lose its leadership, we must assume that we are choosing this last course; and it is on this assumption that these remarks have been prepared.

Our response will be equal to the challenge; we will raise the general educational level and, additionally in California, we will bring forth men and women to match her mountains.

Future Role of the State Colleges

A Report to the California State Assembly Committee on Education Spring 1961

I am pleased to accept your invitation to address this Committee on the subject of the future role of the State Colleges in this state. As you know, the State Board of Education is operational in the field of the State Colleges for the remainder of this fiscal year, then the State College Trustees, who are now in the planning stage, will take over their duties as of July 1, 1961. In view of the pending transfer, the State Board of Education considers that it is not appropriate for it to establish any new long-term policies which might affect the Trustees, and the Trustees have been so recently organized that they have not been able to establish or consider long-term policies. Thus, although I am President of the State Board of Education and at the present time, the Chairman of the State College Trustees, I do not feel that what I am about to say can represent more than the viewpoint of one member of these Boards. Nevertheless, you are certainly entitled to the expression of this viewpoint for whatever assistance it affords you in your deliberations.

Organization of the New Trustees

The first problem confronting the Trustees is to organize the State Colleges into a system, with centralized authority and control, as contemplated by the Donahoe Act. Up to this time the colleges have grown and expanded to a considerable degree on their own momentum and without too much concern for the development of uniform standards, complementary curricula, etc. The initial step toward the creation of a system is the selection of a top flight chief executive officer, who in status and dignity will be comparable to the President of the University of California. The Selection and Personnel Committee (of the Trustees) is already hard at work on this task. Once appointed, the chief executive officer will select a staff, subject to Trustees' confirmation, sufficient to enable the new agency to exercise its authority to advise, guide and control. It will be important to provide a necessary and appropriate staff, but not an overweighted bureaucracy. The establishment of a system is not to provide regimentation but coordination. It does not mean that every college should have the same program; historical differences and area needs must always be considered as they relate to the interests of the entire state. But uniformity of standards and procedures with respect to students, curricula and faculty should prevail.

You will be interested to know that a nucleus planning staff is now functioning for the Trustees under the direction of Dr. Don Leiffer, a professor of political science with wide administrative experience in the

academic field, who is presently on leave from San Diego State College. The Trustees wish to be certain that they will be in a position to take over their duties at the stipulated time.

Educational Policy

The primary questions of educational policy have been resolved by the 1960 statute. It is clear that the State Colleges are to function in the fields of liberal arts, applied arts and professions, including teacher training. Research is to be of the type for which there are facilities available and which contribute to the teaching function, and such appropriate research must be recognized. Instruction in certain of the professions, such as law and medicine, are to be excluded from State College curricula.

It is my interpretation of the legislative intent that the State Colleges are to be teaching colleges and not institutions in which research is paramount. The faculty teaching load therefore should continue materially to exceed the faculty teaching load at the University of California. As a corollary, the State Colleges will be primarily four-year undergraduate institutions, with such graduate programs as are required by demand in the areas of instruction reserved or permitted to the colleges.

I believe that these colleges should be first-rate teaching colleges. Perhaps a word of definition is in order. By a teaching college, I mean a college that stresses high standards of instruction and emphasizes instruction. I am not speaking of the colleges as simply teacher training colleges.

However, teacher training has been and must be a principal function of the State Colleges. Teacher training should be based on a sound foundation of subject matter in the liberal arts. Teachers will be required to have majors and minors in the subject that they desire to teach, and methods courses, although important, should be a supplementary consideration. It may take some revision by the Legislature of the credentials structure to accomplish this purpose, but I believe it is necessary educational policy.

In connection with the applied arts field, the State Colleges will increasingly become the training ground for personnel in the operative phases of technological fields, mechanical engineering, police training, social work, nursing and the like — with curricula allocated or emphasized as will best serve the total needs of the state.

There will always be a certain amount of curricula common to both the University and the State Colleges, particularly in the liberal arts. American history is American history whether taught at the University of California or at a State College. It may be part of teacher training or a general arts program in either case. Some students will always prefer to go to a State College because it is near home or because of economic considerations or because their credits, although more than passing, are

not sufficiently high for admission to the University. Thus the State College enjoys a somewhat regional character, meeting local as well as general state needs; at the same time it provides undergraduate curricula which may be terminal or upon which a student may build.

The State Colleges should concentrate on developing the MA degree in their graduate programs. This is a degree which has lost some of its lustre since the Ph.D., in certain fields, has become as much a matter of economics as of scholarship. As you know, the State Colleges are authorized in selected fields to issue a Ph.D. jointly with the University. Admittedly this coordination may be a little difficult to work out, but it can be done with care and good will — since there are existing departments in certain State Colleges which in quality of personnel and instruction measure up fully with their counterparts at the University for the purpose of granting such a degree.

It is my view that where, in liberal arts or other fields, the State College has developed a strong department competent to join in granting a degree, the State College is not duplicating, but assisting a sound doctorate program in participating in the granting of the degree. I would oppose expanding a State College in order to grant the doctorate, but if the facilities and personnel are otherwise available, it seems a waste not to use them.

Standards

There have been some rumors that admission standards will be raised to control the size of the State Colleges and thereby hold down costs. I am of the view that in the course of the next few years there should be some upgrading of standards, not as to proficiency in admission grades but as to subjects deemed necessary for State College admission, at least to the liberal arts and related curricula. In other words, the prescribed courses in the high school should be more solid stuff. Right now the assembly of 7 Carnegie units in any high school courses, including home economics, social goals and auto shop, is sufficient. It should not be.

There may be some justification for differentiating in admission standards for students entering the liberal arts fields and those entering certain applied fields; there are advocates for this position, and although I am not one of them, it is a matter that should be studied and reported upon by experts. My point is that students who have a real purpose in going to college should be given every opportunity to do so, and this purpose should be demonstrated by high school or junior college performance in solid subjects; the right to enter cannot be based on some pleasant social custom or easy qualifying courses.

Expansion

The pressures for the establishment of new campuses have been evident in the Legislature for the past few years, and the direction of this expansion has been shown in the Master Plan. I think it is most

important that the state acquire the sites and prepare to build to meet the needs as they arise. But I also think it is just as important for all segments of higher education to continue to check and evaluate needs and not to build prematurely. The new College Board must at a very early date establish principles which cover expansion and the implementation of expansion.

If we build or commence operations at too early a date, we must begin with curricula which have too narrow a base and do not represent a State College program. Yet the cost per student will be relatively high. If expansion is not carefully curtailed, we will find that existing institutions will suffer by having to support the new institution. We recognize that the total appropriation which a legislature can give us must be within realistic limits.

Faculty Questions

At a very early stage it will be essential for the State College Trustees to study and act upon matters affecting faculty status (e.g., the sabbatical leave policy) and faculty-administrative relations. An academic assembly or senate must be established on each of the college campuses with well-defined relationships to administration. Some systemwide procedure for making available faculty viewpoints to the state administration should be studied and provided. The State Board of Education was prepared to go into this matter when it was presented to it last May, but in view of the pending transfer of functions felt that it properly belonged to the State College Trustees. Any final action along this line should await the investigation and recommendation of the Chief Executive Officer because it would be most important that the faculty-administrative relationships be satisfactorily set up on a meaningful and long-term basis.

It appears true that the sabbatical leave policy in effect for the State Colleges is much more restrictive than is in effect at the University. Any significant change in the policy would be reflected in increased costs.

In summary I would say this: the State Colleges have come of age in the period of growth under the aegis of the Department of Education and the Board of Education; they will be coordinated into a system under the new Chief Executive Officer and Trustees; there are many important problems to be resolved, but the direction of the State Colleges seems clear under the statute. There should be no problem in relationship to the University which cannot be answered, if not by the systems themselves, by the Coordinating Council provided to advise us both. In good faith we plan to work in our garden and not to plant trees in the University glade, and we are confident that the University has enough to do in cultivating its glade without planting in our garden. Together we will work the common ground, as in the case of the liberal arts, but with different students and in many cases for different purposes.

The Changing Role of Education in California

Commencement Address
Orange County State College
June 10, 1962

President Langsdorf, members of the 1962 graduating class and friends:

I am delighted to be in the country of the annual elephant races, where the East and West have met.* I am honored to be giving an address at one of the Ivory League Colleges. Obviously this is an institution where the students think big and carry out great plans to a successful conclusion. But how could it be otherwise, with Disneyland so near?

My only concern is that the faculty and administration may catch your enthusiasm for elephants and transfer it to the curriculum. It might be all right if a chair is established to teach the geography and history of elephants. But next year this professor may want an assistant to lecture upon the economic uses of the elephant and perhaps another assistant to teach the military uses of the elephant. By the third year there will be a special course on ivory, a course on teaching elephants to read, a course on the mnemonics for elephants. Subsequently courses may be added on the circus elephant, physical education for elephants, the elephant as a political symbol, the elephant as a status symbol, and thus in three short years a whole department might be developed to give instruction on elephants. And if you say that this kind of thing could not possibly occur, I might comment, perhaps not in the field of elephants, but there are other fields where proliferation of courses along this pattern has occurred in American colleges, though heaven forbid, not in Orange County State College. We are studying the phenomenon of proliferation in all of the State Colleges and with their cooperation, we will reduce surplus offerings where we find them.

Your college is one of the youngest of the State Colleges and one of the most promising. It suggests that strong foundations may be laid, especially by a far-seeing president, in temporary buildings. Your college is set in one of the fastest growing areas in California and is increasingly destined to play a vital part in the development of this

*For several years in the early 1960's, the student Elephant Racing Club of Orange County State College (now California State University, Fullerton) operated elephant races on the field that has become the campus parking area. College and university student groups from all over the world, including Cambridge and the Harvard *Crimson*, sponsored individual elephants (most of them rented from a neighboring animal farm). This novel and exuberant spectacle drew the attention of the national and international press.

region. This will become even more evident upon the completion of the engineering and science building now under construction which, among other considerations, should relate significantly to the tremendously important electronics industry that surrounds you.

But you graduates of the pioneer group have stressed the humanities in the liberal arts and have not specialized in technical or scientific subjects. You have taken a number of the basic majors which are characteristic of the State Colleges, you have demonstrated an enthusiasm and a desire to prove yourselves which augur well for the future reputation of this institution, and we will follow your careers with a great deal of interest.

My remarks to you this afternoon will deal with two matters:

1. A word about the importance of a liberal arts-humanities education, and

2. The changing emphasis of California education and the part many of you may be expected to play in our educational system. Of course, I speak as a layman, not as a professional educator, but to a substantial extent the American system of education, including that of the State of California, requires the lay citizen to share the responsibility for the determination of educational policies.

Now concerning the liberal arts curriculum: If, apart from the knowledge of the specifics of your majors, you have taken from your studies and made part of yourselves some measure of the moderation of the Greeks, of the order and rule of law that distinguished the Romans, of the idealism that lifted the Middle Ages, of the intellectual curiosity, the creativity, and humanism that characterized the Renaissance, of the respect for reason and individual liberty of the 18th century, particularly as written and espoused by our founding fathers — you will always regard the *individual man* as the true object of American concern, no matter how many more people there may be, no matter what other countries may say about the primary position of the state, no matter how many other planets or worlds may be discovered, no matter how tiny the measure of the earth may be in the vastness of the universe. You will always see a man or a woman or a child as the center of things — his or her physical, economic and spiritual welfare, his or her right to equal status, opportunity to develop, and achieve and aspire. There have been and are other cultures with other foci of interest, but the individual remains the fundamental concern of Western civilization and of the American segment which has taken from and contributed so much to it.

In the end we must convince the world of the rightness of this purpose and of this theme by precept and example, lest we and the rest of the world lose Man in the coming crush of Men that is developing everywhere with the population explosion.

But this is a subject for books, not for a single address. I simply call attention to it because of our conviction, as represented by State College curricula, that all higher education should have a general humanities base, however much we may later stress specialization in mathematics or scientific subjects, and that you should be proud of your bachelor degrees in the liberal arts. It is of more than passing interest to note that no such general liberal arts degree is available in Soviet higher education.

I am told that most of you plan to be teachers, particularly in the elementary schools, and it is to you, for the most part, that these further remarks are directed. It may intrigue you to know that much of the current interest in elementary education stems from the experience that the colleges and the universities have had with dropouts from their own student bodies. For example, in the case of a freshman class in an average State College, one-third will withdraw after their freshman year. Fifteen percent of the class will be disqualified by their performance and an additional 20% will be placed on probation. Actually only 35% of the entering class will graduate in four years but this figure must be qualified by several statements: (a) Many dropouts occur for economic reasons; (b) many other dropouts occur because of transfers to other colleges; and (c) many State College students take longer than four years to graduate because of the fact that they work at full-time or near full-time jobs while going through college. Nevertheless, too many students are lost along the way. We have no strictly comparable figures for the University of California but, in a sample study made for the purposes of the Master Plan, it was indicated that 45% of a freshman class drops out before graduation and that one-third leave because of failure to achieve a C average. The very great number of students who flunk the University subject A English test has been a disturbing fact for educators over the years.

It must be remembered that students involved in these figures had received satisfactory recommendations for admission to the college or university. Consequently, college or university faculty and administrative personnel have raised questions concerning the adequacy of preparatory work in the high schools; at times they have suggested that the high schools have permitted too many soft subjects to be used as a basis for recommendation or there has been too much fluctuation between high schools in standards of evaluating performance in the substantive subjects. High school officials in turn have looked to the elementary schools and have suggested that the fault has been with them for failure to impose a sufficient discipline and to develop satisfactory work habits. To some extent, perhaps, all of this criticism is in order, and the colleges and universities also may share the blame for student

performance in their own failure to provide sufficient orientation and adjustment for students in their critical first year.

My purpose here is not to indicate fault, but to underline one very pertinent aspect of the whole situation, namely, that the entire educational structure rests on the elementary school base. Sometimes we make the mistake of thinking about "elementary" as being "simple," when we should think of "elementary" as being "fundamental." The effectiveness of your teaching in the elementary school, to a large degree, will determine the success or failure of your students in the secondary schools and in higher education.

Thus you have not only a very important job but a very difficult one under present circumstances. You face in the classroom the problem of quantity and quality. All children come to you in the elementary school. Each is entitled to care and consideration. Many have special problems. Some are gifted and prepared to move speedily ahead. Yet, you must deal with all of them at the same time in classrooms which are frequently overcrowded.

In Europe, at least until recently, there were some automatic controls. A child in his tenth year took written examinations of a comprehensive and difficult order and the result of the examinations determined what kind of education he would receive for the remainder of his schooling. This kind of approach is hard on late bloomers and children who have come from economically or culturally disadvantaged homes. European education has sought to select its elite for further training at a very early age. In recent years England and France have somewhat liberalized their procedures by substituting oral instead of written examinations at a later age or by acting upon the whole record instead of upon special examinations, but the process remains fairly selective.

In the United States we have never recognized the propriety of such a selective system at an early age and we have sought to keep the door open to every kind of future educational opportunity for as long as possible — in California to the point of the junior college — and yet, though we want our schools to be everybody's schools, we have come to realize that we too must select students who give promise, or have problems, for special educational treatment. The elementary schoolteacher is at the beginning of this selective process. She must identify the exceptional children, she must stimulate them to move ahead in accordance with their potentials.

There has been a minor revolution in educational policy during the past few years in the State of California. Very clearly the Legislature and the State Board of Education have established policies and programs in the elementary and secondary schools emphasizing substance above form for both students and teachers. The new teacher training bill requires that a teacher must teach in her major or minor in secondary

schools and that she must have an academic major to be an elementary schoolteacher. The emphasis is upon subject matter; teaching methods are recognized as a means, not as an end, in the teaching process.

There is a growing conviction on the part of school boards, administrators and teachers that the entire elementary school curriculum must be strengthened. We long have been aware that a student in a European elementary school who is prepared to enter a secondary school has had a training comparable in many respects with our high school graduates.

While we are of the opinion that European education is still too rigid or selective, we appear to have conceded that our own education has been too soft or general — too willing to accept mediocrity and to adjust to the most common denominator. So we are tightening up all the way down the line. In doing so we have certain objectives and certain problems (when I say "we," I am merely referring to the trend of California education). These may be discussed under a few familiar headings:

1. We seek to improve reading, recognizing that reading is the basic skill to most intellectual understanding and achievement. The interested parent prefers to judge by results rather than theory. He isn't so much concerned whether his child responds better to phonics or to look-say, but he does want him to be able to read. And he wants his child to proceed with his reading according to his natural pace so that the quick reader will be given advanced materials as fast as he can absorb them. Whenever possible, he would like his child to be given a classic to read for himself rather than a watered-down paraphrase of a classic. We must close the gap between the reading vocabularies of our children and the elementary school children of almost every European country.

2. We seek to improve writing through our educational system. Many of our students in the colleges and the university appear to be completely lost when required to write any kind of sustained theme or essay. They have been reared on an examination diet of true and false and multiple choice questions or, at most, questions calling for postcard answers. What American education needs to produce is a mass of letter writers: show me the student who can write a long, interesting, cogent letter and he will be, in all likelihood, a good student.

If the teacher is overburdened in the elementary and secondary schools with numbers of students, then let the school budget pay for assistants who will assist the teacher in the correction of essay-type assignments even if it means a slight increase in the upper grades of the student-teacher ratio in order to finance the "assistants" program.

Moreover, the essay-type of assignment should permeate every subject and be corrected for grammatical expression in every subject, as well as in English composition. The place to begin extended composition

exercises is in the elementary grades. The essay, the dissertation, is the heart of the writing discipline.

3. We seek to improve speech. This is a hard task in view of the present state of the American spoken language. The school seems to be in a losing competition with the speech of the home, the playfield and television. But the school is acquiring television facilities of its own and the school holds a captive audience most of the day. In a generation's time, perhaps, the fact that 55% of our California citizens will have gone through school to some phase of higher education should have some effect on the general cultural level, including our daily speech. As teachers, you will influence the parents of tomorrow and through them, we may hope, the use of an enriched and more subtle vocabulary. Listen to the speech of almost any English boy you meet, and you will know what I mean.

4. According to a new law, we are required to introduce the teaching of one or more foreign languages in the sixth grade. Advocates of the foreign language curriculum believe it may be introduced with profit in the third grade.

Here we run into serious problems of theory versus practice. There is no doubt that young children have an aptitude for foreign language, and in the earlier years, at least, are uninhibited and happy to pronounce or mispronounce. They will respond, at least initially, as they have to music. But there are two difficulties: (1) the lack of motivation for the American child to pursue a language used only in school and for limited periods in a week, and (2) the lack of trained teachers who are fluent in the language. It would be a complete waste of time for a child to learn conversational French from a teacher with a strong American accent who herself would be lost in a French conversation in a Paris subway. It will take time to procure a teaching staff for this purpose, and the state and school districts may be compelled to make special adjustments with personnel who know the language but require instruction in pedagogy. Motivation may be supplied in part by the fact that the foreign language will be a high school and a college preparatory requirement and in part by bringing the foreign language closer to the classroom — by emphasizing the role of a foreign exchange student who may be in the class, receiving foreign visitors to converse with the class, and engaging in across-the-seas correspondence with a class of the country whose language is being studied.

5. We plan to include mathematics and science in the early grades. This change stems from the fact that we are living in the last half of the 20th century when the training of many more engineers and scientists is a "must." It would have been brought about whether or not the Russians had launched a Sputnik. The motivation is clear — natural

demand, economic opportunity, general acceptance, and a number of visual symbols: computers, missiles, astronauts and so on.

6. We are seeking the best textbooks in all subjects whether commercially or state printed. There is no doubt that modern texts are much more attractively printed and appealing than were the texts of an earlier day. The one element that concerns many lay observers is that the publishers may have sacrificed too much to superficial eye-appeal compared with books of 50 years ago for the same age group; they often seem to be too easy, too little of a challenge. There has been some criticism that the textbooks in the social sciences scramble geography, history and civics to the point where the student receives a blurred impression of nothing in terms of everything. The *Saturday Evening Post*, in a recent editorial, charged that the social science books avoid all controversy on social issues by covering them with a blanket of bland generalizations. Claims are made that texts about books are used in English literature where it would be better to use the books themselves. Odious comparisons are made of textbooks used in various parts of the country. I am not competent to evaluate individual books in terms of grade levels, but I do propose the following program: that the State Colleges, as the principal institutions for the training of teachers in California, engage upon a continuing research project involving the comparison of textbooks in selected fields used in this country and in foreign countries, making use of our college foreign language departments for translation whenever necessary and feasible. The results of such studies would be made available to the State Curriculum Commission and the State Board of Education; indeed, these agencies should cooperate in determining the scope of the studies so that ultimately, on the basis of properly weighted and evaluated facts, the most appropriate textbooks should be obtained, not only in California, but for all of the United States.

7. To provide improved materials on citizenship and character — there is some uneasiness that the American heritage is not being brought home to our children by our schools. In the elementary schools this program involves pride in ritual (such as the salute to the flag), history with some direct relationship to our national heroes, and the matter of encouraging the child to participate in the democratic group process in his classroom, to understand the simple elements of the civics of his community and to practice fair play. To some extent, lessons in character and morals can be taught by historical and literary example, by participation in class and community activity, by school discipline. But the school in our society cannot assume the basic responsibility for individual character training which remains with the home and the church.

The idea that the child should be educated as an individual, yet be taught his obligation to contribute to his community and country, is as old as Athenian education.

8. To identify exceptional children, by reason of their talents or achievements, or their handicaps, and accord them the special treatment they require — this, under new legislation, will be one of your most important tasks. Your proper performance of this work will be rewarding on two counts: for the handicapped, it will mean providing a normal or more normal life; for the talented, it will mean the discovery of the future leadership of their state and country.

All of this brings us back to the beginning; you will be dealing with children as individuals. In our overpopulated schools, your work will not be easy. But there is no more important, no more challenging task for any group of graduates. Your hands, as much as any, will determine the shape of things to come, will help decide America's destiny. I wish you all Godspeed.

Remarks on Retirement as Chairman

Talk to the Board of Trustees
July 12, 1963

About ten days ago Chancellor Dumke called and warned me that there would be a luncheon this Friday and that I had better be prepared to talk. "What about?" I asked. He said, "About such philosophy and views concerning the State Colleges as you may have developed since you worked on the Master Plan and chaired the Board."

Before answering, I thought for a moment about an incident that occurred in the Cairo Museum on our recent trip to Egypt. My wife and I were looking at the mummy of an ancient Pharaoh in his glass case. "Who does he look like?" I queried. "Like any past chairman of a board," she said. "Yes," I agreed, "but I see his mouth is still open." . . . She gave me one of those quizzical looks which said she knew I would speak again as soon as invited.

Let me say that I can talk much longer than I will about the subject assigned. I will respect the hour of our scheduled meeting. I will give you, for what they are worth, a few highlights from experience.

The first, and perhaps the principal, observation I will make is that we in the State Colleges should follow the precept of Voltaire's Candide: Let us cultivate our garden. Under the Master Plan we have a fertile field. We can provide education in every area, except in a few proscribed fields in the learned professions, through the Master of Arts degree. If we do this assignment well and with the requisite discipline, most of our problems, including the joint doctorate, will take care of themselves.

But let us examine our jurisdiction a little more closely. We will find that it is primarily in undergraduate education. The Master Plan clearly contemplates a graduate emphasis in the University, it clearly limits the Junior Colleges to lower division courses. It is the State Colleges that are awarded the program emphasis of a complete undergraduate education. Of course, we provide extensive graduate opportunities too, but let us concentrate our discussion for the moment on undergraduate training.

How can we best perform this allotted task? What philosophy should control? I say that we should make our colleges great *teaching* institutions. All our energies and efforts and creative thoughts should be directed to that end. We will not merely offer curriculum — this is done in many places — we will not just conduct classes — we will seek to make all of our colleges great *teaching* institutions of higher learning.

Well, one may say, this is not a very new idea — good teaching should be an essential ingredient in every college and university.

Perhaps it should be, but it isn't. Think back on your own college experience. The professor who gave an organized, stimulating lecture was rare. From what many of my academic friends tell me, the situation has not improved materially over the years. Too much college and university teaching is mediocre and uninspired.

There may be a reason for this phenomenon in the universities where advancement is predicated on the principle of "publish or perish." The professor's energies there are directed to, or mired in, research. Publish, print, write articles, monographs; get it in the journal; if it is in print, it is evidence of scholarship. Thus are the frontiers of knowledge pushed back across the pages of the learned journals, although I suspect that a vast amount of this published material is piled high on the slag heaps of waste words located in a Death Valley 1,000 miles behind the frontier.

Perhaps the price is right — of so much waste — in order to yield knowledge that is valuable; it is not for me to judge. But teaching, under such circumstances, is bound to suffer; often it is delegated to young teaching assistants or is assumed as a chore.

Thus, when I speak of great teaching as the primary objective for ourselves, it is a policy of considerable importance and has a number of far-reaching implications.

For example, it would mean that the present teaching load of 12 units should not be substantially reduced. It would mean that in recruiting faculty, certain colleges or departments would not merely examine the credential of the doctorate, which is a good indication of discipline, but also the candidate's love of teaching for itself. (The Chancellor has advised me that the record of many departments is outstanding in this respect, and that we have much teaching in the State Colleges of which we can be very proud. However, there is a growing tendency to be bewitched by the doctoral degree alone.) It would mean that the administration and organized faculties would give increased consideration to an instructor's or professor's teaching performance in awarding tenure or promotion.

This last is not an easy thing to do. But I cannot see much use in tenure or promotion procedures which do not provide for an effective evaluation of teaching performance. One technique insufficiently used consists of periodic visits by senior professors to the classroom of the colleague, usually the probationary colleague, to be evaluated. The purpose of such visits should be more constructive than critical. This procedure works well in several of the leading law schools in the country, and it may be followed on a limited scale in one or two of our colleges, but it should be applicable to any classroom instruction involving a probationary appointee.

There is another factor that may be of help. Coming from me, who has devoted a great deal of effort to stressing substance over form and in helping draft many of the provisions of the Fisher bill, what I am about to say may seem strange. But I firmly believe that some methods instruction is essential for everyone who plans to teach: for elementary and high school teachers and for college and university professors. The techniques will differ widely, but the college professor should have had training in the preparation of a lecture, in knowing his classroom audience, in methods of communication and in delivery. And if such a program has been overlooked in the past, it should be available as part of in-service training today.

In some South American universities, the students have much to say about the hiring and firing of professors. None of us would agree to such a procedure, but it may not be out of place to accord some weight to what honor students may say about teaching performance in classes they have taken.

Nothing I have said thus far should be construed as suggesting that we give up our struggle for a reasonable appropriation for research funds. These are necessary to encourage creativity and to improve teaching itself and to facilitate faculty recruitment — research is part of the academic cloth, not just a fringe — but in our system research cannot be the paramount interest.

Improvements in educational policy and in faculty-staff relationships will never be possible without the active interest and support of the organized faculties. Their part in our garden is large and important. On the state level the Chancellor, with our approval, is to refer to them for counsel some weighty curriculum problems: for example, the adjustment of curricula necessary to help implement the new credential training requirements of the State Board of Education; the preferable schedule for the year-round college; the reassessment of general education requirements; and the perennial problem of proliferation of courses. Indeed the item of proliferation may become a major test for the state and local academic senates. A cursory examination of catalogues indicates that some of our colleges have fragmentized and subdivided knowledge in a manner calculated to result in needless repetition; they suggest that the same tune is being sung to slightly different words. The catalogues also indicate the necessity for developing and applying qualitative standards as to what constitutes a discipline in higher education. "Home on the Range" might lead to tears or nostalgia but it shouldn't lead to a degree, even in home economics. A course in "Tailoring" does not seem tailored to higher education. A major in Secretarial Administration suggests the title for a new musical: "How to Succeed in College Without Really Trying."

In other words, there is much pruning and weeding to be done in the garden, and it is work that cannot be done fairly on an emergency basis. Some claim that professional courtesy will make it impossible for the faculties to recommend significant reforms in this area. I have faith to the contrary and will support the faculties in their efforts.

There is another area where faculty and administration must effect uniformity in relationships. I refer to internal procedures granting tenure, promotions and discipline. Some tightening, clarification and coordination is in order in certain of our colleges to assure due process and equity for all concerned.

Let me turn our attention to the students, the intended beneficiaries of all our joint labors. We know there will be many more of them as the years roll on. We are eager to serve the qualified third of high school graduates who are to be our portion. But what is often forgotten is that the principal agencies which determine eligibility are not our admission offices but the high schools. The incredible element in the certification system, both to the colleges and the universities, is the dropout loss of students during the first year of higher education in our institutions. The amount of remedial English required for our freshmen — 30 percent of enrollment in one of our colleges — is shocking. There is a growing feeling that a large measure of failures is due to uneven certification standards: some high schools maintain high standards for college recommendatory grades; others do not. The State Board and Department of Education and the school districts are seeking to remedy this situation. We must assist in every way possible — by providing a yearly report to the schools on the records of their former students, by assisting high school counselors and by other ways — to assure that the academic currency used to establish entry of high school graduates is based on the same gold standard for all high schools.

Moreover, I can foresee a changing picture for the college student after he arrives among us. He will be required to cultivate more of his own garden without the professor always standing by. In the highest levels of British undergraduate education, the student discusses his reading and his own essays with his tutor only for one to two hours a week. During the remainder of the time he is on his own — to read, to write, to attend lectures of his choice — until final comprehensive examinations are given. In Germany, there are no tutors, but all lectures are voluntary and, for the most part, not well attended. There is a story coming out of Britain or Germany about the eccentric professor who was giving his lecture to an empty hall. A single student wandered in. The professor, looking up from his notes, saw the student and said, "Go 'way; can't you see I'm delivering a lecture?"

I don't mean that we should go to such extremes of abandoning faculty-student relationships. But I am quite certain, in the light of

growing numbers and mounting costs, and the difficulty of obtaining high quality teachers to meet the needs, that we will be compelled to treat the student as more of the adult he is or is about to become, and impose more responsibility upon him for his own education. In this direction lies the possibility of much bold experiment which has only been touched upon by the State Colleges. Television need not be the only instrument for accomplishing this result. Reduced lecture time and increased reading and reporting responsibility could be another. As teaching colleges we should be in the vanguard of experimentation in providing quality teaching for large numbers of students.

And parenthetically we should also be in the vanguard of experimentation in curriculum content as well as in teaching procedures. Cal Poly has original and creative programs in architecture and animal husbandry. Orange State College is developing an extremely interesting liaison with the burgeoning electronics industry under which engineers will receive advanced training in business administration. San Francisco State College has made a notable contribution to teaching in the creative arts. Others of our colleges have their own distinguished academic programs, and it will be the purpose of the Educational Policy Committee to present a separate report on each such distinguished program at every meeting in the future. Thus we hope to stimulate the development of fresh approaches to curricula, old and new, throughout the system.

I have referred to the familiar problem of growth and indirectly to the matter of costs. I firmly believe in making the tax dollar go as far as possible to provide quality education. Some of my prior statements about placing additional responsibilities on the student show this to be true. But I am equally concerned that the executive and legislative authorities who review and determine our budgets do not saddle us with false economies. There is no use in building an expensive house and not providing it with enough furniture for the family needs. There is waste in constructing a big ship and providing it with a small engine. We operate a 100 million dollar per year educational program; it includes some of the most modern plants in the country. But at the same time to keep the library books per student at a level comparable with that of the most impoverished small colleges in the country is false economy; to hold down salary and benefits of the presidencies of our larger colleges to a level which in recent recruitment has not even interested the president of any reputable small eastern college, public or private, is false economy (I am happy to know that we are on the verge of a breakthrough in this regard; moreover, we cannot live forever on the sacrifice and loyalty of our incumbents); to refuse faculty salary raises necessary for us to compete for good teaching faculty and to deny $42,000 of travel allowance for faculty professional conferences and

one-half million dollars for a limited research program approved and supported twice by the Coordinating Council, are false economies. I am hopeful that some, if not all, of these adjustments in budget will be made and items restored by the current Legislature in order to produce the most from our remaining and major tax dollars.

At the same time I am deeply concerned about the increasing costs of all higher education. Unless new sources of funds are soon made available, the State of California will not long be able to continue its tuition-free policy which most of us believe is the right policy. California needs federal aid to maintain its higher education program. Since our student population derives to a large extent from people moving in from other states, California has every rightful claim to substantial federal aid whenever it is made available. The time is not distant when either we will have federal aid or be compelled to charge tuition.

In the meantime, I suggest that we re-examine our organizational set-up in order to determine whether we can effect any real, as distinguished from false, economies. Even a slight raise in the average faculty-student staffing ratio, if it can be done without compromising academic quality, would save millions of dollars.

Another area where we should step carefully is in the field of expansion. It is essential that our expansion into new colleges be timed to meet needs, but it is also necessary that it not be premature. It is easier to obtain authority to establish a new college than it is to obtain the additional financing necessary to operate it and the older parts of the system as well. Indeed, to a certain extent, the new college feeds off the system and delays or limits improvements otherwise possible in the system. Too many new colleges at once could weaken all the colleges. So I repeat, when we ask for a new college let us be as certain as we can be that it is really necessary, in terms of growth and academic policies, present and projected, including year-round operation, controls on admissions and maximum use of capacity in the existing colleges.

When I refer to "policies," I am reminded that these are the particular concern of the Trustees, that they are what we should cultivate in our part of the garden. Sometimes we are sorely tempted by interest or inclination to jump the hedges and begin digging in the area reserved to administration. This is a temptation to be resisted at all costs, because as certain as is the sun, the trustee who is engaged in administration will sow more confusion than seed.

Yes — the determination of policy is a large enough responsibility, but how in general should we exercise it, what kind of college do we seek to create or develop for the State of California? May I give the view of one trustee:

The college or university has become the central institution of the Western world. The leadership of government, industry, labor and our

cultural and civic agencies is dependent upon it. The State of California draws heavily upon the resources of higher education for its material and cultural welfare. The nature of our colleges is of the utmost importance.

We want colleges to exhibit the same high quality core of a liberal arts curriculum.

We want colleges to develop notable "specialties of the house."

We want colleges to educate broad-gauged citizens.

We want colleges to produce elementary and secondary teachers who know their subject matter.

We want colleges to offer disciplines, whether general or professional, not mere training.

Finally, the pursuit of excellence is possible only in an atmosphere of academic freedom where ideas are free to clash and contend. This phenomenon occurs more easily when the college, while conscious of its responsibility to the community, is a little detached from it. The college evolved from the monastery and, in large measure, the quad has succeeded to and enjoyed the intellectual sanctuary of the cloister.

In such surroundings the attribute of objectivity, the most precious possession of the college, has flourished. Whether we build our college on the hill or in the valley, whether our buildings spread or soar, let us preserve this essential objective character. If we insist on doing this, we will have liberal arts and professional colleges true to a great tradition where great teaching will prevail, and we will be cultivating our garden under the Master Plan.

II. The Issue of Governance

Remarks to the Association of Governing Boards of State Universities and Allied Institutions

San Francisco
March 19, 1962

Dr. Kinney has asked me to say a few words to you about the Trustees of the California State Colleges and the system of colleges under our jurisdiction. We are a new Board, but we are aging rapidly. The authorized Board consists of 16 members appointed by the Governor and four ex officio public officials — the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Speaker of the Assembly and the Superintendent of Public Instruction and, additionally, the Chancellor appointed by the Board.

Perhaps some of my colleagues, upon appointment to the Board, thought that here was a nice, quiet, cloistered assignment — away from the maddening crowd; from time to time we would meet, in calm quads and cool glades and occasionally climb the Ivory Tower to meditate upon the destiny of our children and our children's children. If so, this is a dream of the distant past. Actually, we hear the noise of construction on almost every campus. We struggle with budgets, with disputed college sites, with proposed legislation concerning research — and whenever a faculty member has transferred from the academic life into administration we have heard an explosion because at that moment a Dr. Jekyll has turned into a Mr. Hyde, or so it seems to some people.

We are reminded that the agricultural and industrial arts curriculum must have their appropriate places in the program; we read the outspoken editorials of student editors, who happily for them, are not responsible to any publishers or subscribers; we receive resolutions against charging parking fees to students and faculty members, and appeals to protect the colleges against city re-zoning, and resolutions from faculty for higher pay, and when all else is quiet, there is always the subject of academic freedom. We meet as a Board and in committee for two full days every month, plus committee meetings as required, not in a secluded Ivory Tower but in the giant Goldfish Bowl of a public meeting (apart from closed personnel meetings). While we keep to the determination of policy and leave administration and the recommendation of policy to the Chancellor's office, to the presidents of the colleges and their academic-administrative staff and academic senates or councils, we find ourselves in the midst of great activity; with them we are engaged in creating new relationships in an old system; it is challenging and eminently worthwhile.

These colleges — 16 in operation and 2 in the planning stage — have had an interesting history. They all began as state normal schools for the instruction of teachers. The very first college was established in the mid 1800's in San Francisco, but the administration and faculty were opposed to the distractions of the town and moved lock, stock and students to San Jose, so that on the record San Jose is the first of our colleges. There are those who say that it was conceived in a certain amount of wickedness in San Francisco, which we must presume it has outgrown or at least has successfully concealed. Other normal schools were established as the needs arose, and some added a general liberal arts curriculum and also an industrial arts curriculum. In recent years the liberal arts curriculum has become increasingly important and graduate departments added as a basis for awarding higher degrees. The word "normal" has been dropped, and this seems very appropriate to us at this time.

The colleges are mostly undergraduate institutions; they are teaching colleges; our aim is to stress high standards of instruction and to emphasize the quality of instruction. Of course, teacher-training has been and will continue to be a principal function of these colleges. The faculties are authorized to engage in research for which the regular college facilities are provided and which is related to the improvement of instruction. Research requiring elaborate special facilities, such as a cyclotron, is reserved to the University.

In 1961 we had 105,858 students enrolled in our campuses. It is estimated that in 1970 our enrollment of individual students will rise to 301,100 and in 1975 to 377,900 students. Our requested budget for the coming fiscal year is close to eighty-nine million dollars. Our capital outlay expenditures for the last fiscal year amounted to fifty-seven million dollars, and we have pending requests for expenditures of sixty-one million dollars for physical plant for the coming fiscal year. Our full-time faculty numbers 4,540, and over 55% of that number hold doctoral degrees. We have an additional part-time faculty of 1,166 professors and instructors.

Up to this time we have drawn our students from the upper 45% of our high school graduates. We are called upon by the controlling State Master Plan of Higher Education to draw from the upper one-third of high school graduates. We have already taken a long step toward achieving this goal by adjusting our future admission policy, and we expect to reach the objective by 1965.

We have an excellent professional staff at headquarters to draft and recommend policy. In addition, we have advice generously given from official and non-official sources, from faculties, students, the press, and any number of organizations and citizens interested in the educational program. On the basis of the amount of advice received, it

appears that everybody is an expert on education. The interest and ferment concerning education in this state is extraordinary. We feel that this is as it should be when educational costs — both for public school education and higher education — constitute 42% of the California budget, and the people quite rightly desire to know how their funds are being expended.

Our Board became an operational agency on July 1, 1961. Since that time, we have assembled the headquarters staff, developed an entire personnel program for academic and non-academic employees, reviewed and established priorities for a five-year building program, developed a completely new system under which both private and state architects are employed for campus master planning and building, and instituted a number of important policies governing the educational program. Our objective is first to have the academic policy determined and then to build to carry out that policy.

One of the problems with which we have had to deal relates to the development of a strong faculty senate or council on each campus which will have clearly defined consultative powers and responsibilities and as soon as possible a statewide faculty representative group.

In all of this development the student is the principal party. As the years go on he will find it a little more difficult to enter a state college, a little harder to stay in; there will be more work to do and there will be more academic discipline, but we have every reason to believe that his educational experience will be equal to the best. On another point, we are unanimously agreed. Our colleges will not all be of a single mold or pattern. They have developed differently because of their regional and historic backgrounds, and they will continue to demonstrate their individuality. Though a college may specialize in agriculture or engineering or in the creative arts, all will provide the basic liberal arts curriculum. In many administrative matters, there must be a substantial measure of uniformity and coordination.

It is understandable that some of these colleges which have had a long period of relative independence will approach coordination with some reservations. Whenever there is an attempt to centralize this will be true — whether it applies to a group of states or to a number of nations or even to a group of fraternities. I recall the suspicion and distrust that was felt by the various fraternities on the campus of the University of California when the Inter-Fraternity Council was established in Berkeley some 30 years ago. At the first meeting, when the members were brought together for the first time, no one knew quite what to do or what concessions to make in the interest of cooperation. Finally a representative of one fraternity house arose and said, "We have to start somewhere and to show our good intentions we are prepared to set a date two weeks from now when we will give back all of the silverware

we stole from Sigma-Sigma Fraternity if they will give back all of the silverware they stole from us." The date was set and D-day, delivery day, arrived. It was an extraordinary exchange and a landmark of cooperation, because on that day 138 pieces of Hotel St. Francis silverware was exchanged for 143 pieces of Southern Pacific silverware. From then on the Inter-Fraternity Council prospered.

So will the State College system — built on sterner stuff. At the moment we are minus a Chancellor; we did have a Chancellor but he abdicated before the coronation; we still have the crown and we are looking for a head to fit it.

All in all, I would think that these remarks indicate that we may have something to contribute to, and I know that we will have much to take from, the deliberations of this Association of Governing Boards.

A Trustee Looks Ahead

Address to the Western College Association
March, 1965

(Originally printed in *Addresses and Proceedings*)

When President McIntosh assigned me the topic, "A Trustee Looks Ahead," I am certain that he had the best of intentions. He felt that a trustee should not look behind; he will see too many errors. He should not concentrate on the present; there will be only confusion. But, the future! — there lie the possibilities, there is the hope! Yet, with all of the risks entailed, I should like to make a brief review of our recent history of the State Colleges before making any estimates or conjectures concerning our future. We will be better oriented.

The Trustees of the State Colleges succeeded to their governance on July 1, 1961. Prior to this date, the several state colleges had evolved, pretty much at their own pace, from state normal schools or from colleges with a limited curriculum, into four- and five-year, multi-purpose institutions. They were loosely tied together under the advisory jurisdiction of the State Department of Education, but, for the most part, they operated as independent duchies (except that the Superintendent of Public Instruction appointed the dukes, i.e., the presidents). The colleges developed their own curricula and areas of emphasis, presented and argued their own budgets to the State Department of Finance, brought their own political pressures to secure appropriations and special consideration. The Legislature, tired of dealing with fourteen points of attack at the same time that it was being besieged by the University, created a new board of trustees patterned after the setup of the University Regents, to coordinate the colleges, absorb some of the pressures and present a united front on behalf of the State College system.

For close to four years the Chancellor and the Trustees have been in the position of coordinating these colleges which have become eighteen in number. We have been federating these institutions which previously had such a long record of independence, the earliest going back to 1857. The strains of central administration versus local autonomy appeared right on schedule. Nevertheless, the record indicates that a good deal has been accomplished for and with the colleges during these years, individually and collectively.

An early act of the central office was to develop an inventory of curricula so that a master curricular plan could be developed for the guidance of the system, recognizing the existing areas of special emphasis in certain of the colleges. This general plan was not developed to foreclose other colleges from entering the same areas, but to assure

that if they did, it would be in response to student needs and in line with an orderly growth involving no unnecessary duplication. In addition, each college is required to obtain approval from the Trustees of its own projected five-year Master Plan. About five or six of these plans have already been presented and approved and it is anticipated that the remaining plans will be submitted during the course of this year. For the first time this group of colleges providing education to some 148,895 students, spending approximately $130 million per year on operation, will have a coordinated program of curriculum objectives and defined directions.

The Chancellor and the Trustees have received and authorized the building of over $243 million of new structures in connection with new and expanding campuses. We are now engaged in the planning or construction of four new campuses.

On the recommendation of the Chancellor, we have established a statewide Academic Senate consisting of faculty representatives selected by general faculty vote from each of the colleges. The Senate advises on important questions of educational policy and professional status. The system has given full encouragement to the development and strengthening of local senates and councils which advise with the presidents of the various campuses on their local affairs. The consultative machinery on the state level and much of the consultative process in the colleges are new. The Senate at Long Beach State College has become very able and effective, and one of the faculty of this college, Dr. Samuel Wiley, is the distinguished head of the State Academic Senate.

The system has developed constructive relationships, through the Coordinating Council and independently, with the University, with the junior colleges, and with private institutions.

The system has developed and enunciated the admission policies which are designed to admit students from the upper one-third of high school graduates as prescribed by the Master Plan. The development of such policies, which had to adjust the eligibility pool from 45% to 33⅓% of high school graduates, presented some serious problems and had to be solved in a series of annual steps.

The system has established direct liaison with official student body organizations so that these organizations, through their presidents, advise the Chancellor and the Trustees directly concerning student matters; for example, a new plan for financing and administering health services or the building of a student union or dormitory.

We have a number of Hyde Park areas for student expression which the colleges have set up and themselves control on an individual basis.

We have learned to consider and develop policy in the glass bowl of public meetings. Without question, in our period of existence we have

held more public meetings of board and committees dealing with policies of higher education than any comparable body in any single or multiple institution of higher education in the world. I assure you gentlemen who are associated with private institutions that it is not easy or helpful to your ego to do all of your intellectual laundering in public. The amount of wisdom given to any man is limited, and it evaporates very quickly in a two-day period of meetings. I dare say that any board will gain in stature if it is protected by some curtain of mystery. But we have become accustomed to the face of the crowd and if we were suddenly shut up in some panelled and protected room, removed from the public, we would probably miss it. Whether public meetings for all purposes except personnel is conducive to the public interest at all times I do not know, but I can see a good measure of justification for requiring the board that is spending so much from the public purse to act where they can be seen and heard.

These are a few highlights which I believe may be considered to be on the positive side. We have problems, too, and deficiencies and unmet needs.

Our basic administrative problem is financial: The system has not been able to obtain sufficient funds, and it has not sufficient authority to administer the monies appropriated to it. The lack of funds relates particularly to faculty salaries and benefits. We no longer have a competitive position. We want instructors and assistant professors with doctorates, we want quality teaching, but we cannot recruit on the basis of climate and sunshine. Salaries must be raised substantially if we are to maintain and retain quality instruction.

Moreover, we need to obtain technical and clerical assistance in order to release professional time for professional purposes; we must have sufficient funds for travel to enable professors to attend professional meetings; we need to offer the fringe benefits which are customary throughout the country.

And, very importantly, we require the authority that goes with responsibility. Because of line budgeting and lack of authority to transfer funds, the Trustees were unable to fund a deficit in the salary increase account in the total sum of about $280,000, which was caused by a complex series of administrative errors within and outside the system. Money is available in another state college account but cannot be used. Under existing legislative and administrative conditions the trustees had no course other than to prevent the overdraft on their account and were compelled to make, what we hope and trust, was a temporary salary adjustment of 1.8% for five months designed to keep the increase within the specific appropriation, which has been generally labeled a cut and which can be restored only by the action of the Legislature. But, even assuming that the matter will be rectified and

made whole, considerable damage to morale and to confidence has already been done. This need not have occurred if the system had sufficient financial flexibility to make transfers within a total appropriation.

Moreover, existing financial requirements impose impractical procedures for estimating needs. The budget is presented almost a year before the following academic year. If burgeoning enrollments in a particular college occur, there is no effective means of adjusting the number of faculty positions to these enrollments, even within the total appropriation. Indeed, outside administrative controls are so extensive that it is not possible for one college staff position to be divided into two or two such positions consolidated into one, without presenting weighty documentation to the Chancellor and to the State Department of Finance for approval.

Certainly the educational authority should be held to a strict accounting, but the use of the education dollar, once appropriated, should be largely in the hands of the responsible authority and not in the control of the fiscal authority. Then, to a considerable extent, the authority should be redelegated by the Chancellor to the individual colleges. If, for example, the college knows the precise number of sabbaticals to which it is entitled, there should be no need to obtain the approval of the central office for individual sabbatical leaves. In sum, two imperatives of the system are: (1) adequate funds from the Legislature, and (2) substantial delegation of fiscal authority to the system. We note that a resolution is pending in the Legislature to authorize a year's study of the delegation problem with report back to the 1966 Legislature, but we urge that there are many items of administrative delegation which can be achieved without legislative authority and which the Department of Finance should soon grant.

There are at least two other aspects to the financial problem. The first relates to establishment of new campuses. Under the Master Plan demographic projections have been made and needs indicated through 1975. The Coordinating Council has recommended that a new college be established in the Kern County area by this Legislature. Proposals regarding the advance acquisition of sites for other projected colleges are under way. The Legislature usually anticipates the establishment of such a college with a modest appropriation which, of course, is all that is needed at the beginning. But, very soon the requirements of the college double and quadruple and very much larger appropriations are required each year. The additional requirements for the new college affect the ability of the system to obtain the requested budgets of the older colleges. Unless the Legislature is prepared to consider the new college as representing a full-fledged additional need, the older colleges are drained to support the new one. I am firmly of the belief that we must provide equal opportunity in higher education throughout the

state, but along with my co-trustees, I am most concerned that we do not weaken the system by widening the responsibility while narrowing the base of support.

The other aspect relates to the differentiation of function contemplated by the Master Plan. It was the general assumption of the Plan that the State Colleges would become the principal four-year colleges in the undergraduate field, with a necessary graduate supplement. The University emphasis would be on the graduate division, with a necessary undergraduate underpinning. This allocation makes economic and academic sense because, in view of the non-teaching costs (research) and the expense of elaborate plant and equipment, it costs substantially more per capita to educate a student in the University than in a State College. It is the duty of the Coordinating Council to make certain that the State Colleges and the University recognize this graduate-undergraduate principle in the course of their expansion.

Research has become a problem with the State Colleges and the University. In the University the charge is that there is too much of it, in the colleges that there is too little. Indeed, none in the colleges is financed by state money.

This situation persists in spite of repeated efforts by the Trustees, the Chancellor, the faculties, the Coordinating Council, and even in the Department of Finance to obtain a modest research appropriation. The legislative opposition to date has been predicted on a theory supporting the status quo. Key legislators insist that the State Colleges remain teaching institutions, and they are afraid that if they open the door to research (even though their hand remains on the knob) the colleges will push thro gh to become pale imitations of the University, complete with cyclotrons and the publish or perish doctrine. Certainly the Trustees have no such plan or purpose. But we must recognize the creative aspect of teaching that is reflected in research and the fact that no professor can remain abreast of his profession without participating in it. The Master Plan statute itself provided for research related to instruction — a part of the law that has never been implemented with state funds.

We cannot attract holders of the doctorate to our staffs if we do not provide research opportunity.

There is evidence that the Legislature is preparing to yield to the weight of the evidence. We consider it a "must." In the meantime, we have reaffirmed on a number of occasions that ours is distinctly the teaching function. Much has been said and written in recent months about the student's need everywhere to be in direct contact with his mentor; that he feels lost in the mass if he is deprived of these contacts.

It is our intention to do everything possible to maintain the faculty-student relationship; in fact, to secure some essential clerical assistance to free faculty time for the further development of this relationship.

One problem looms above all others — it is the major question presented to an Ad Hoc Committee of Trustees, administration and faculty, which has been working on it for a year. How should a system such as ours be governed? What are the proper roles of the various segments previously referred to — Trustees, Chancellor, President, Academic Senate, Student Associations and so on? What is the fundamental principle of governance?

I have mentioned the Academic Senate and our relations with it. But, the faculty has many voices and its membership or action groups speak directly to the public and to the Legislature. Until recently the faculties of colleges or universities made few statements concerning educational problems or professional status outside of the institutional channels or educational journals, but there have been many departures from this practice in the past few years. These considerations suggest a reference to history.

As you well know, the early colleges and universities developed from ecclesiastical foundations. They were set apart from the communities around them. They became fortresses of learning. In them was a protected sanctuary of the spirit. Whatever was repressed or curtailed outside of them, there was a wide area for inquiry within. In the midst of a war between France and England, the English students at the University of Paris were fully protected and continued their studies.

Thus were the beginnings of academic freedom. It was something above and beyond the rights of the people generally, in a kingdom or in a democracy. It had a kind of religious aura; it was something special. Its genius rested in the free pursuit of knowledge by the teacher and the student in the classroom and in the library. The proper subject for study was any and every idea, and any and every avenue to truth was to be explored.

The energies of university or college government were directed to preserving the greatest measure of independence and responsibility for the institution. The American university and college have succeeded to this tradition. However, in some quarters a new purpose has appeared, namely, to make the college and the university part and parcel of the marketplace. There is to be no sanctuary, no privilege — faculty and students are to be plain citizens in all their relationships. If there are faculty grievances to be remedied or educational programs to be advanced, some faculty believe that they should go directly to executive or legislative authorities or to the public without going through administrative or faculty channels or exhausting administrative remedies or procedures.

It seems impossible to have it both ways — to enjoy the status of a great profession while trading blows in the city streets through the press and other media, to enjoy the protection of the sanctuary and the contention in the marketplace.

In any event, the college must not be diverted from its educational goals by demands from inside or outside. To protect its great mission it should:

1. Settle its own problems within its own governance. If it fails to do so, outside agencies may attempt to move in and take over the Academy. The very citadel — the classroom — then may be threatened with undue inquiry and interference.
2. Define the roles between the segments of its governance in order to eliminate sources of friction and misunderstanding.
3. Be mindful that higher educational opportunity is still a privilege and it is appropriate to require conditions of decent behavior as well as satisfactory academic performance.
4. Sometimes be necessary for trustees or administration or faculty to use an effective two-letter word: "NO."

At this point enters the trustee; it may be helpful to examine his position and function. What is a trustee of a public college or system of colleges?

From the viewpoint of the administration, he is a personnel problem who requires special handling according to his humor and temperament; but he is also a sounding board, a buffer against pressures from faculty, students and outside agencies; a perpetual student who must be educated by the administration in time to meet a crisis; a fabricator of prefabricated policies.

From the viewpoint of faculty, he is a potential meddler in educational affairs; a possible vehicle for overturning the administration and transferring authority to the faculty; a court of last resort in disciplinary cases; an agent to procure the appropriations which the faculty wants; a man with a corporate bias who seeks to run a college like a business; sometimes a kind and friendly soul who might be brought to the door of the temple academy but never allowed to enter or to share the secrets of the brotherhood.

From the viewpoint of the student, he is a member of the older generation who cannot understand, a symbol of the establishment, at best no more harmful than Dad.

From the viewpoint of another trustee, he is a pretty good fellow, interested only in a better educational program, desiring to do a fair, honest, and constructive job; unhappy when there is friction in the college community; willing to cooperate with all parties; expecting no public thanks and, in this respect, not being disappointed.

Actually, a trustee should be principally a policymaker applying the tests of common sense and worldly experience to proposals developed by the administrative and faculty experts and occasionally by himself and his colleagues. He should have the benefit of the counsel of all interested parties — administration, faculty, and sometimes students — before he makes a decision affecting any of them, except under emergency or unusual circumstances. Most policy decisions reflect a concensus and if they cannot or do not, at least they should be predicated on meaningful consultation, direct or indirect. And, if occasionally there is friction between the segments of the college community, the Trustees offer a forum or device for the resolution of differences.

The trustee should be a protector of the academic sanctuary, of academic freedom, of the right of the teacher and student to pursue knowledge and of the opportunity extended to the young people of this state to attend institutions of higher learning at minimum cost. He should be a sword and a shield of the system, available to be called upon by the Chancellor when the going gets rough in the marketplace, which the trustee in many ways represents and in which he is expected to participate.

More than anything else, he should be a defender of the long-term commitment which the State of California has made to the people of this state in higher education; he should stand firm to make certain that the Master Plan is fully implemented and not whittled away through lack of support, because the resources which he seeks to develop are the human resources — the students — the most valuable growth investment of them all.

Now a word about the students. Thus far we have not had the same problem in our State Colleges as has occurred in other places. If any four-letter words have been uttered by our students (and it is possible), it has been privately done and not howled into the wind under the alleged protection of the Constitution and Mr. Shakespeare. Well, apart from this strange coupling of license and nonsense, there *is* a kind of rebellion going on in campuses throughout the country. Whatever the purpose of certain of the student leadership, and a hard core of intransigent followers, I believe that most of the interested students, idealistic as usual, want to attach themselves to some good cause and improve the world, as youth has always wished to do. If you cannot strike a blow for freedom in Mississippi or join the Peace Corps in some remote land, you can ring the Liberty Bell somewhere at home. You can demand free speech for political purposes on the campus, or you can ask to stay out all night or demand the right to see *avant garde* moving pictures in the lecture hall or do something of greater or lesser importance. In any event, when you are told and told again that western

civilization depends on the question of the dignity of the individual, you want to be lifted out of the mass, you want some personal intellectual relationship with your professor, you want equal opportunities for your fellow students and citizens. While I do not condone any excesses of program or method, I think that the spirit behind a good deal of this ferment is the ever-renewed and vigorous spirit of youth which wants to right the world's wrongs, and I would be disappointed if it were not there. As always, it presents a magnificent opportunity and challenge to the administration and faculty to guide these energies into constructive channels and to prevent them from flooding over into destructive, wasteful, or illegal acts. I may say that I have great faith in the ultimate sense of fair play and good judgment of college and university students. Given sufficient time for self-exposure, leaders who preach license or sheer defiance, contrary to the essential being of the college or university, will be rejected by the vast bulk of the students. I believe that they (the latter) will help draft and accept codes of reasonable conduct. This does not solve, but it isolates the problem of the intransigents.

In the final analysis, the American college and university cannot tolerate a situation in which any group of students, in the style of some institutions in other lands, seeks to control curriculum, professors, and administration and the unilateral right to decide all matters of student discipline.

I have been told, in the case of the State Colleges, that the continuing encounter of the student with his instructors has given outlet for the expression of dissident attitudes and has been a true stabilizing influence.

As I read the estimated figures on future enrollments, it seems to me that they will have a profound effect on the teaching-learning process. Already the high schools are graduating much better-trained students than in prior high school generations. The toughened curriculum is turning out many students more nearly of the caliber of the student graduates of the German Gymnasium and the French lycee. These are rapidly maturing minds and they will wish to be treated as such.

The most obvious way is to give these students more time for self-study, and less in formal lecture periods. I see no reason why a three-unit course must always remain three units of lecture. It can be divided into lectures and consultation periods for those who wish to take advantage of consultation. Indeed, Dr. Alvin Eurich, in his stimulating address "A 21st Century Look at Higher Education" indicates that many basic lectures will some day soon be transmitted by television, and small groups or individuals will meet from time to time with their professors to discuss more advanced materials. It may be that the student's knowledge and capacity will be tested more uniformly by comprehensive examinations or other criteria of achievement than by fulfilling the

quota of credit hours. This is your province, not mine, but it seems to me that new tools and better qualified students will bring about profound changes in teaching methods. I am not averse to stimulating the earliest consideration of such changes.

When will all of our problems be answered? Last year I was in Greece and visited the Oracle at Delphi. There as I sat in the ruins of the Temple of Apollo in the shadow of Mt. Parnassus, I had a daydream that the temple was fully restored and in complete operation. Thus, I trudged the path to the portal of the temple and after the usual tribute or bribe was permitted to enter and to put my question: When in California will we solve our problems of higher education? The high priestess of Pythia was in her sanctuary and when she heard the question she became particularly incoherent. The priests about her groped for the words of the prophecy and then they turned to me and said: We have your answer. The problems will be solved when the redwood trees of Humboldt march to the Imperial Valley. I left heartened by the fact that the successors of our Board will still have something to do.

The Uses and Abuses of Trustees

Annual Meeting
Association of Governing Boards
of Universities and Colleges
San Francisco, California
April 21, 1970

About five years ago, in the course of an address to the Western College Association, I had occasion to define a trustee of a college or system of colleges. I suggested that in part it depended on one's point of view.

From the viewpoint of the administration, the trustee is a personnel problem who requires special handling according to his humor and temperament; but he is also a sounding board, a buffer against pressures from faculty, students, and outside agencies; a perpetual student who must be educated by the administration in time to meet a crisis; a fabricator of prefabricated policies.

From the viewpoint of faculty, he is a potential meddler in educational affairs; a possible vehicle for overturning the administration and transferring authority to the faculty; a court of last resort in disciplinary cases; an agent to procure the appropriations or contributions which the faculty wants; a man with a corporate bias who seeks to run a college like a business; sometimes a kind or friendly soul who might be brought to the door of the temple academy but never allowed to enter or to share the secrets of the brotherhood.

From the viewpoint of the student, he is a member of the older generation who cannot understand, a symbol of the establishment, at best no more harmful than Dad.

From the viewpoint of another trustee, he is a pretty good fellow, interested only in a better educational program, desiring to do a fair, honest and constructive job; unhappy when there is friction in the college community; willing to cooperate with all parties; expecting no public thanks and, in this respect, not being disappointed.

I do not see much reason to modify this statement in the light of the events of the past few years, except to indicate that the attitude of the militant student toward the trustee would be rougher. He would consider a trustee to be a pig along with the policeman and every other representative of authority.

There are, of course, some critics and observers of higher education who would prefer to eliminate the need for defining the role of a trustee by eliminating the trustee entirely from the college and university scene. For example, Justice William O. Douglas in his most recent book, *Points of Rebellion*, recommends that the students and faculty should

assume the basic controls of the university so that it will become a revolutionary force in restructuring society. He implies that any segment of the college governance, such as the Board of Trustees, which is representative of existing society, tends to defeat the attainment of the activist role which he believes higher education should serve. It would be interesting to speculate upon the administration and viability of a university in the United States in which all power has been delegated to the faculty and the students. What part of the faculty would be most zealous in seizing control? What group of the students would be most interested in obtaining control from the faculty? Perhaps the Harvard faculty in a 1969 report anticipated a partial reply to Justice Douglas when it declared limits to the involvement of the university in the political and social affairs of the marketplace. The report said: "The university — any university — has a special competence. That competence is *not* to serve as a government, or as a consulting firm, or a policy, or a pressure group, or a family, or a secularized church; it *is* to serve as a center of learning and free inquiry." The suggestion of the Harvard faculty is that the great purpose of the university — of learning and free inquiry — would be jeopardized if the institution itself became an instrumentality of social and political action. With this conclusion most of us would be disposed to concur, but let us withhold judgment for the moment. . . . I also believe that the spirit of free inquiry is better safeguarded in our colleges and universities if it has the support of a dedicated board of lay trustees.

In other words, the Trustees do have their uses. Perhaps the most important and far-reaching act of any board is that so eloquently described by President Ness in his address of Sunday evening; namely, its appointment of the chief executive officer, president or chancellor, as the man who, more than anyone else, will determine the character and direction of the institution. Naturally, most boards want their leader to be a person of the highest academic distinction with the widest administrative experience, a brilliant speaker to community groups, a man certain to command the respect of his faculty and the affection of his students, or at least their neutrality; liberal in his views but conservative in his actions; a man of all seasons to please all people. Sometimes we have to settle for less. (A board is well-advised these days to appoint a presidential screening committee representative of administration, faculty, and students, as well as trustees. Such a broad-based committee should give the new president the feeling of security and general support to which he is entitled upon assuming the duties of his office.)

The president will appreciate the moral support of the Board but just as much will he enjoy the Board's support in procuring the necessary operating and capital funds to run the institution — from legislative bodies or private contributions. This task is becoming more difficult as

confrontations between students and college authorities have become hot copy for the news media. Now, just as the Trustees are about to persuade a loyal alumnus to give his donation or vote an appropriation, some militant student group is likely to occupy the Administration Building or throw out the army recruiters. The result can be painful. But if the Board is on its toes and can place the event in perspective, or demonstrate that it was handled firmly but under the rule of law, then the check may still be written or the appropriation made. Such a favorable result requires that the Board keep itself informed, know the difference between fact and rumor, be able to stress the positive while conceding or explaining the negative. I do not mean that the Board is required to be an apologist for violence, error, or lack of judgment. But the Board should see an episode in its entirety, not merely the television report, and tell the truth to the media, to the Legislature (if involved), to the alumni, and to the public. The truth, as we all know, is that the vast number of young people attending our universities and colleges are earnest, serious students and not participators in violence and turmoil.

Thus, one of the Board's more important duties is its interpretative role and not only in the area of the procurement of funds. In the broadest sense the Board should defend the academy to the alumni and to the public and convey the public sentiment to the academy. This is not an easy task. You are asked why you did not prevent the construction of a coeducational dormitory, why you do not expel every student involved in a violent demonstration, why you do not fire a professor who has been quoted to have made some irresponsible or provocative remark in an address to the Women's Club. In giving effective answers you have to adjust to changing mores, to recognize that disciplinary proceedings cannot be productive unless there has been effective identification and a fair hearing, and that there is a price society must pay for maintaining a free academic atmosphere unpolluted by the smog of fear or censorship. At the same time, the trustee is aware that there is justification in much of the public criticism; that students should be required to conform to some minimum code of conduct in order to be entitled to remain in the university or college; that academic freedom can be meaningful only if it is exercised responsibly; that disciplinary proceedings should be fair and just but not wound up in endless red tape. The Board can lessen the tension which usually exists between the community and the college by explaining the one to the other.

It is in connection with students that Trustees meet their greatest current challenge and where it is important for them to distinguish between objectives for change which many students share with militants and tactics wherein they disagree.

Extremist students, in their effort to break down respect for authority, do their utmost to show disrespect. I refer to such incidents as

invading a Board meeting for the purpose of hooting and jeering during the discussion; belching in a trustee's ear; derisively challenging a trustee to defend his credentials for membership on the Board — all recent occurrences.

Such calculated, impudent bad manners designed to intimidate or cause chaos cannot be tolerated. The incidents must be made the subjects of discipline as contempts of the institution; the conduct involved is certainly unbecoming a student under any reasonable code.

But if this same Board demonstrates its willingness to listen to students — their grievances and their proposals — who present their views as strongly as they may feel them, but within the bounds of reason and taste, and to take action only after due deliberation, the Board will, in most cases, hold the respect of the vast majority of students because the Board members respected the students in this process.

Indeed, it is in the area of anticipated grievances regarding broad policies that trustees may perform some of their most valuable services. When the Board hears, through administration or otherwise, reports about dissatisfaction with an antiquated salary structure for faculty, or an admissions policy that operates harshly against the applications of disadvantaged minority students, or college social rules that are long outdated, or off-campus student living conditions that indicate exploitation or hazards to health — the Board must deal with these issues before frustration sets in and discussions are replaced by demonstrations and possibly by violence. Whether or not one believes that collective bargaining for professors will ride the wave of the future, it is fairly clear that the failure of trustee boards, administrations, faculty senates, and legislators, to resolve important issues for faculty, in timely fashion, has given the greatest impetus to the movement for such bargaining.

The Board that adheres to an agenda of reviewing and passing upon basic policies is performing its function to the greatest advantage. Should the university add a medical school or initiate a new academic program? Should it charge tuition? If so, how much? When should tuition be waived, or how may the institution ameliorate its burdens? Should the institution expand or rehabilitate its physical plant and under what conditions of financing? Should campus administration be centralized in a multi-institutional system? What powers should be reserved to a central administration? What delegation of authority should be given to faculty? What principles should control disciplinary procedures? What budgetary matters require more than routine approval of the Board? These are the kinds of issues with which the Board should occupy itself, not the details of curricula or administration. And the Board must look primarily to the administration for an exposition of the background data and alternatives implicit in the issue,

or recommendation concerning the issue. By reason of the composition of the Board there may be times when the expertise of certain members in legal, financial, engineering or architectural matters should properly be applied in evaluating a policy decision. But in the usual case it is the staff work that is essential to the decision, assuming, of course, that the staff has undertaken the necessary research and consultations.

This means that the Board should assure itself that faculty members have had an opportunity to be part of the development of any major educational policy and any related policies that directly concern them.

Perhaps this is as good a place as any to begin a discussion of the abuses of Trustees. We have just been considering the Board's function in policy matters. When the Board ceases to deal with broad policy questions but enters into administrative detail, it is committing one of the cardinal sins. If the conduct of a teaching assistant or faculty member has been questionable, it is not for the Board to fire him or to transfer him to another position. This is an administrative function. If the executive fails to do a proper job, then it may be necessary to change the executive. But as long as he is in authority, don't undermine his position by doing his work.

A Board of Trustees should not interfere with curriculum. It is the general practice for curriculum matters to be delegated to the faculty, subject only to budgetary control. This is sound policy; if the faculty cannot evaluate the subject matter that it is supposed to teach, there is little hope for the institution. In the course of making these judgments, the faculty may now and again, particularly under student pressure, authorize experimental courses which appear to some to be of dubious academic value. There cannot be experimental projects without some risk of error. A responsible faculty will take care that such errors do not recur. It is better for the institution that the Board go along with an occasional controversial experiment than prohibit it or withdraw the credit that the academic authorities have provided. A faculty whose reputation is on the line for an academic program will correct mistakes that otherwise will tarnish its reputation.

In its relations with students a Board should remember that it stands very little, if at all, *in loco parentis*. It should not attempt to impose 1930 or 1950 mores on the present college generation. It should not require the administration to censor the student press or seek to deny the students the freedom of association and of speech and assembly enjoyed by citizens generally, subject only to constitutionally valid limitations upon the exercise of these rights.

Unanimity of Board voting on all issues is neither necessary nor desirable. However, a Board which is continuously plagued with closely divided votes is in trouble. It is obviously not giving adequate support to its own administration which has made recommendations of policy

to it. This situation is not as likely to occur on the Board of a private institution as on the Board of a public institution whose appointees have been selected by different governors, or governing authorities, reflecting differences of educational or political philosophy. The fact remains that a divided Board weakens both authority and influence.

There are two other abuses which are more characteristic of public Boards than of private. The first is the inclination of a zealous or publicity-minded trustee to make extreme statements at public meetings which are designed to please some part of the general public but which are inflammatory within the institution itself. Disparaging statements about the faculty, disdainful descriptions about the students, emotional generalizations about whole segments of the college or university may capture a newspaper caption or lead to a television interview but are often injurious to the cause of the college community. An even greater peril to the public university or college may arise from the *ex officio* membership of leading public officials. Originally, such officials were included on state university or college governing boards in order to keep them fully informed about the higher educational program and its particular problems and needs. But since higher education has become such a charge upon the public treasury and since campus events and turmoil have become the location scenes for some of the more colorful television documentaries, the political office holders have used Board meetings, and corridor conferences before and after Board meetings, as a political forum. The Board meetings themselves then become subject to undue political pressures and interests. The policy question is seen by such *ex officio* members more in the light of voter appeal than of institutional integrity. Members of the Board have become divided along political lines of support or opposition. The suspicion or belief that political considerations have entered into educational decisions then permeates the administration, the faculty and the student body, and the fabric of the academic community is ruptured.

I do not say for one moment that *ex officio* public members should not have an impact on the educational scene. A governor, for example, must ultimately support or veto the higher education budget, as any other, or determine upon the legal necessity for using the National Guard to control a riot. But these are functions he must exercise as a constitutional officer and not as an *ex officio* member of a Board of Trustees. Moreover, the access of public officials to the news media, the ability to plan and implement strategy in advance of a meeting or between meetings gives the public *ex officio* member an unduly weighted influence as compared with his citizen colleagues.

Private Boards have their own membership abuses. Usually they are self-perpetuating, and sometimes they become a group of like-minded members who think the same way but have not had a new thought for a

good many years. A Board with obsolete human equipment will not fare very well in the encounters of the coming decade.

An abuse shared by public and private Boards arises when the Board, due mainly to the experience of certain of its business members, determines that the college or university must be operated like any other corporate business. The Board gives its direction to the president, the president notifies the respective vice presidents, the vice presidents direct the deans, the deans instruct the department heads, and the professors are ordered by the department heads to perform accordingly in and out of the classroom. This straight line efficiency simply will not work in the university or college. While I hesitate to describe the modern mass multiversity as a community of scholars, it is, nevertheless, a community comprised of different segments — the faculty being the most important group with respect to teaching and the students with respect to learning. Each segment of the institution has a peculiar interest and competence and cannot be controlled through centralized or bureaucratic procedures. Of course, many business techniques and devices can be utilized in the administration of the institution but not the same overall concept of goverance.

If this analysis of the uses and abuses of trustees is reasonably correct to this point, then reforms for the future are indicated. First of all, it is suggested that a Board understand and make a conscious effort to control and prevent the abuses that have been described. Second, there are certain changes in Board structure that will help improve Board operations. On public Boards, the time has arrived, I believe, when provision should be made constitutionally or by statute for the removal of public official *ex officio* members. Board membership should be diversified with respect to age groups, interest and ethnic backgrounds. Younger members, with a recent relationship to student life, should be drawn from the alumni. The faculty point of view should be represented by faculty members selected from other institutions. Students should be added to most trustee committees, certainly those dealing with educational policy and student affairs. A larger proportion of women members should be added. And, finally, the terms of members should not be of indefinite duration; the university of today is no place for tired blood.

The Board should listen long and well to the constituencies within the institution, to voices of dissent, to minority and majority groups, to the aspirations of students and faculty. As a matter of policy, the Board should support an administration request for funds to procure personnel for the Dean of Students or other appropriate office dealing with student affairs who are expert in the field of human relations. This is one way, among others, that the Board can assist the institution in providing procedures for the anticipation and processing of grievances.

There is a further and special service individual Board members can render — namely, enter into informal discussions with small groups of students, exchanging big and small talk between the generations. It can be a mutually rewarding experience. You may be shocked to discover that in their approach to current social problems, the students exhibit very little sense of or interest in history. The world for them, for all practical purposes, began in its present messy state about 1950. Moses, Plato, Julius Caesar, the Crusades, Columbus, Lincoln and the Wright Brothers all lived or happened at about the same time in the distant past. It is a revelation to them that their present state of luxury in free speech derives from their fathers' or uncles' defense of freedom in World War II.

I engaged in one of these verbal encounters a few months ago at one of the State Colleges. The principal complaints of the students were twofold: (1) that the professors gave the same course year after year and did not change the course to concentrate upon the topics in which they were interested and (2) that very few professors turned them on, so that most of their college career was a waste. I sympathized with their impatience at dry and needless repetition, but I did contend that the professor was in a better position to determine the important areas of their subject than they were; he should have some expertise in his own thing. Secondly, I told them that no college generation ever contacts more than four or five great inspirational teachers during their college career, and they should be grateful for that number of extraordinary student-teacher relationships. Indeed, I suggested that if a student were intellectually excited in every lecture for four years, he would have to be hospitalized long before the end of his college career. And, finally, I noted that it might be a bit presumptuous and arrogant on their part to expect their professors to work themselves constantly into the orbit of genius in order that they — the student beneficiaries — may be turned on. We had other exchanges and much of what they said about the slowness of the Academy to respond to the needs of change did make sense. I was the first flesh and blood trustee that they had ever met; and before it was over, I think they took some consolation in the fact that apparently I had not come from another planet. Trustees will understand their college or university better as a living institution if they take some time to meet with the students.

A Board should be conscious of the important role it can play in the preservation of academic freedom. This means that its policies should permit no group — of militant left or right — to intimidate, to coerce, to impose by violence its will upon the operations of the college or university. It should support its administration in using every legal means, preferably by the institution itself, to guarantee to all students and teachers that they have the freedom to learn and the freedom to

teach and that those who attempt to destroy the university or the college through the pressures described will be removed from the institution.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the young revolutionaries are trying to bait the community to strike back at them through repression and a police state. Then, they feel, their day will come — they will seize the state itself. As to repression, they may get what they are asking for; as to power, they will not. The United States of America is not that vulnerable.

Before many further attempts at disruption take place, I am hopeful that the non-involved sector of the American campus will arouse itself and bring an overwhelming sense of outrage of the overwhelming majority of students and faculty to bear upon the violent dissidents so that the campus once again will be free of intimidation and fear from students and their street allies who throw rocks in the name of justice, yell slogans and beat drums to drown out the words of those they dislike in the name of free speech, and set fires and hurl bombs in the name of peace.

In the 70's, Boards of Trustees will be asked to pass upon a number of novel questions: e.g., further modification of admission standards to assure a student mix that ultimately will produce leadership for minority and other disadvantaged groups; development of additional sources for financing of room, board and tuition for large numbers of enrollees; the maintenance of private institutional independence while benefiting directly or indirectly from increased government subsidy; programs designed to secure excellence, notwithstanding adjustments of admission standards; retention or sale of stock interests owned by the college or university in corporations which, according to consumer or social oriented agencies, are manufacturing and distributing products endangering the environment — to which students vigorously object; the perennial question as to whether the university should affirmatively R.S.V.P. to ROTC; the question as to whether the university should lead society into social reform, particularly whether higher education should actively engage in applying its knowledge to remedy the ills or problems of the community (housing, urban sprawl, health, the reorganization of government) as land-grant colleges did in agricultural extension work. You may be asked to establish or expand non-degree granting institutes of applied knowledge. The institutes could contract with community and industrial agencies to perform all kinds of specialized services, all of which brings us back to one aspect of the proposal that the university should lead in restructuring society and the possibility that the Harvard faculty may not have given the last word on the subject. Knowledge itself is the revolutionary force; whether it is distributed and applied through agencies within or attached to or independent of higher education may not be so critically important.

About ten days ago I had the privilege of witnessing at close range the launching of the ill-fated but glorious Apollo 13. The blast-off appeared auspicious in every respect — precisely on time, the rocket shooting swiftly into the Florida sky and subsequently into earth orbit and then into space, headed for the hills of the moon. But something went wrong as the whole world soon discovered, and the prayers of millions accompanied and supported the operations of return and recovery.

Previously, we had learned much from these magnificent ventures into space. After Apollo 11 and Apollo 12, men asked themselves everywhere, if mankind can achieve such excellence in planning, in directing, in coordinating, in teamwork on a moon project, why can't we do better with some of our problems on our earth? From Apollo 13 we have been given the additional lesson of humility: man and matter still have flaws; there are risks in every enterprise; the most meticulous planning cannot guarantee success. But we were reminded of something else: the most precious resource is the human element, the miracle of being and surviving, more miraculous than the computer that made the rescue possible. And the most stirring part of the ordeal was the low-key conversations exchanged over hundreds of thousands of miles of space between the astronauts fighting for life and the Houston controllers determined to win that fight. When the chips are down and the struggle is mortal, we don't waste words, we don't make speeches, we don't play games. We do or die.

The steering of the university and of the college into an uncertain future has no point of departure or of termination, it has no dramatic structure and leads to no single climax of achievement or rescue. But the success of this project for men on earth is vastly more important than any lunar exploration, and the institution itself has become imperiled by pressures that are causing it to lose direction and purpose. The college — the university — needs to be saved from internal explosion and external drift. May we have the calmness, the courage, and the capacity to deliberate and to decide what will be required to conserve and yet adapt this most valuable of all the secular institutions created by Western civilization.

Much of what I have told you may have covered familiar ground. But it may serve some good purpose to restate or re-examine trustee requirements and needs. If a trustee performs his duties well, he need have no fear about his reward — if it is heaven, he will be that far ahead and if it is hell, then it will be no worse than what he has been through.

The College and the Community — Bridging the Gap

California Teachers Association
VIII Annual California Conference on Higher Education
Anaheim, California
December 5, 1969

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am honored to be invited again to address one of your important Conference meetings. The subject assigned is especially intriguing — "The College and the Community — Bridging the Gap." I can consider it from both points of view — as a former trustee who has participated in the academic community and as a member of the general community of citizens and taxpayers, usually described as irate and unhappy.

Of course, there always has been a gap between college and community. The Town and Gown have been fighting each other, sometimes in bloody encounters, since the Middle Ages. The Town has always suspected that peculiar things were going on inside the college walls; that the professors, in their ivory towers, were brewing strange and dangerous intellectual potions and then passing them around through their lectures in the classroom, and that students habitually were unruly and short on virtue.

When the situation was peaceful, it was misrepresented. During the era between the Wars, Joe College was pictured in the movies as a handsome football player who won the big football game and the President's daughter in the last five seconds of play. The other big scene was the Senior Prom which was filled with lovely dancing coeds and looked like Adam's idea of Eden after he had become tired of Eve. College was shown as a playground for the privileged and, though the image was illusory, it kept the college and the public apart. On the realistic side, there are always tensions between the college and the community because the college is always curious about the new and untried and exposes political and social institutions, past and present, to critical analysis and review. Thus, the community is sensitive to the threat that the college poses to the *status quo*. Moreover, young people perennially look at the world through different glasses than those of their parents (today it is the parents who are wearing the rose-tinted glasses) and are prepared to attack dragons which the older generation no longer wants to fight. All of this is to the good; a gap should always remain between

the generations across which social electricity can crackle and sparks fly and the energy and fire for advances and improvements be generated.

But today's gap is widening into a chasm. And with mass education, the problem of Town vs. Gown is not that of isolated incidents, but is a national issue, along with Vietnam, racism, and environmental control. The community is becoming more and more alienated from the college, not because of romantic fantasy, but because the community feels that it has been shown the college and does not like what it has seen.

This is what the community — the majority of the citizenry — believe they see concerning students. The factor of disruption and violence leads the list. People generally cannot understand or have any sympathy for the physical confrontation. They consider college a privilege which should be forfeit by an act of violence. They are sick of demonstrations and battles with the police. Most of the public (except for the minorities) support the police in almost everything they do in these confrontations. The community notes with satisfaction that the courts have been increasingly severe in their sentences and penalties against student demonstrators. The community is particularly angry about the students' attitude toward authority; a college student calling the college president a "pig" filled hundreds of thousands with disgust. Students by their dress and manners purposely have set themselves apart, and reports of extensive drug usage have darkened the picture further. The community may be less certain of the sexual situation but are fairly confident that the worst can be expected from coeducational dormitories and the pill. The carnival atmosphere outside Sather Gate in Berkeley almost curtains off the serious activities within. While much of the campus picture is painted by hard-core militants and their minority sympathizers, the visual scenes of ugly confrontation have been so widely publicized by television and the press that the community is inclined to consider them typical of the college as a whole — a guerrilla battleground. The public is totally unable to understand why the militant activists are not expelled forthwith.

The community attitude toward faculty is not much more favorable. The barber, the taxi driver and the stockbroker believe that radical faculty have seized control of the college and are teaching or condoning revolution. When occasionally a faculty member participates or leads a demonstration urging classroom disruption or closure, they believe he should be terminated on the spot. If pay raises for faculty were the subject of referendum, they probably would be defeated. There is resentment at the apparent immunity tenure affords against any discipline. There is a growing awareness that the faculty has a hand in molding the citizens of the future, and a growing uneasiness concerning faculty influence or lack of it.

The administration of the college has been referred to as spineless toward both students and faculty, too conciliatory, too lacking in leadership. Public officials and legislators have repeated these charges. Whether these characterizations or any others relating to students and faculty are true in whole or in part, or at all, is not the point; they represent, I believe, prevailing opinion.

Trustees and Regents, at best, are considered well-meaning but they are frequently divided, seem confused, and are prone to doubletalk on tough issues by the time resolutions are drafted.

What does it all add up to? Higher education is a kind of religion in America and, particularly, in California, where the Master Plan is spelled with a capital "M." Each college is regarded as a Temple, and the community feels that the Temple has been desecrated. The students have smashed the stained glass windows, while the professor-priests have stood idly by or urged them on. The Archbishop-President has lost control, and the Trustee-Cardinals plead to no effect. Even the Virgins who symbolically used to guard the academic purity of the institution appear to have gone. The citizen-friends of the Temple are loathe to support it by tithe, tax, bond, or contribution. Actions must be taken and things done to close the gap between the Temple and its community supporters, or it will be cleansed by them in an outpouring of zealous energy which will destroy the Temple in the process.

So, we are returned to the metaphor of bridging the gap most, if not all, of the way. The college should take the initiative, but the community must make its own special efforts, too.

I believe that the college should start by rediscovering itself, by knowing and asserting its goals, by redeclaring its basic academic standards and insisting upon their observance. Earlier this year, in a commencement address at one of the State Colleges, I defined and discussed these goals; here I will merely enumerate them: A college must be an institution of reason and its discussions and decisions made in an atmosphere in which reason controls procedure; the classroom must be objective to the point that all aspects of a controversial question will be explored; the college must maintain a certain detachment and scepticism in examining theories or alleging facts or asserting truth; the college must require disciplined study — a perpetual bull session is not an adequate substitution; the college must be experimental — receptive to new ideas in both courses and procedures. (Revolutionary ideas are no exception, provided that they are subject to the same analyses as any other.) Finally, the college is a place for imparting certain knowledge and skills — a function clear in the scientific fields but more difficult to implement in the social sciences. The important element in all fields is that facts, laws, theories, and hypotheses must be clearly distinguished and that propaganda must not be palmed off under any false title.

These are traditional concepts; they constitute our highest academic heritage. Guided by them, we can reach for truth in the stars or in the core of the earth or in the heart of our ailing cities. The community is not likely to oppose any experiment or any quest pursued within these principles. When the college knows itself and acts upon its standards, it is respected, indeed revered; but, when it becomes faddist, when it equates scholarship and study to improvisations in a playpen, when it becomes the minion of an outside majority or an inside minority in its approach to facts or philosophy or curriculum, then it becomes especially vulnerable to community attack against which it has no honorable defense.

The faculty is pivotal in academic matters, and these are what most matter in a college. The community expects them to be expert in their subjects and to treat their subjects fairly. This does not mean that a teacher is asked to be objective to the point of bland neutrality. But, particularly in the social sciences, he is deemed to be under a duty to set forth or indicate varying points of view, and to be accurate in his facts. Undoubtedly, the community, certainly its power structure, will be unhappy with a college if it believes the professors are doctrinaire or are advocating or encouraging its overthrow.

The community believes that the faculty has a duty to do something affirmative to prevent mass student disruption. People feel strongly that faculty should discourage mob think and mob action. Mark Twain's description of the headless and heedless mob meets with the approval of the majority of Americans. If the community heard more voices of faculty arguing for reason, opposing student mass decision-making at demagogic rallies, it would bring the college and the community closer together.

Certain communities are deeply upset by what appears to them as a lack of self-discipline in the academic profession. No other profession — law, medicine, or the ministry — seems as self-protective of its members. The mechanisms of academic due-process often make judicial process look like streamlined justice in comparison. The community would have more confidence in the academic profession if, at the minimum, it dealt with severe breaches of professional standards with more firmness and dispatch. At the same time the college would be doing itself a service if it informed the community of the number of promotions withheld or tenure refused because faculty committees, after patient evaluation, determined that its standards were not being met.

I come to two touchy issues which I hope I can make clear. This is that faculty exercise judgment on certain issues which are bound to agitate the community. Undoubtedly, there are some issues of transcendent importance that college and faculty must take a stand upon,

irrespective of community response. But every potential issue does not have to be tested to the point of community tolerance or to the border of constitutional validity. For example, the appointment of a man to a teaching post at San Francisco State immediately after he had engaged in physical attack on the editor of the college newspaper was an obvious error of judgment and not worth the agony that it was bound to cause. If the college does have a cause celebre in the area of academic freedom, let it be one that originates in good initial judgment.

The second question relates to faculty acceptance of some responsibility for the moral guidance of college students. This, I appreciate, is a touchy and difficult problem. But the community seems to have no doubt. Faculty should set a pattern of conduct in their own affairs which provides a reasonable behavior model for students. This should pervade their direct personal relationships with students. Teachers should not add to the harmful drug problem by the example of their own use. (I do not imply that such example is prevalent.) They should not encourage violations of the law, and at least advise that if one breaches the law, he should be prepared in the Tolstoyan manner to take the consequences. I cannot prescribe upon this moral problem. But I do agree that the relationship between professor and student is such that he owes the student some affirmative obligation to strengthen the student's moral principles and perceptions; just how, and to what extent, is a problem, but if the faculty were to discuss the subject on the basis that such an obligation exists, the community would be heartened.

In justice, a further word should be said about faculty. We have not said Goodbye to Mr. Chips. Mr. Chips is not dead, and there are many Chips off the old block. Not that any modern faculty look like him or act like him or wish to do so, but the great majority of faculty share his spirit — the love of teaching as a high calling, the love of youth for its promise, the love of learning that gives the ultimate satisfaction if it pushes back the frontiers of knowledge a yard, a foot, an inch. To them, the community owes a revolving debt which is paid again and again by the achievements of the students they have taught. No movie has been made of them, but it will be, sooner or later. Perhaps, when it is made, it will be called Hello, Prof. Dolly.

In the main, students should develop their own rules of conduct *vis-a-vis* the college. Experience indicates that student codes of ethics are as strict, if not more so, than those which are college-imposed, provided that the representatives of the total student body, and not simply the militants, are in control of the proceedings. Student-proposed rules represent the consent of the governed. When adopted the community should recognize the value of such self-regulation.

But codes of conduct will not stop student unrest. This will continue for a long time, so long as there is Vietnam, the potential of nuclear

war, racism — white or black — the prospects of overpopulation and environmental blight. Much of student unrest is the American conscience speaking, but the voice should be directed into political channels and not against the college. And it is time for the community to recognize that college student pressure has had an effect on national policy — concerning Vietnam, draft by lottery, renewed efforts at disarmament. At times the manners and methods of the young have been atrocious, but they usually have been on the meritorious side of the big issues.

Regents and Trustees are the ones caught between the pressures of the college and the communities. They are the buffer, and should explain the one to the other. In a period of crisis, they cannot be popular with everybody and they should not try. Sometimes they must defend the principle of college independence, notwithstanding its error of judgment. Sometimes they must take action or establish a policy contrary to the desires of certain segments in the college, because those who should have taken action or established policy were derelict. But, in general, they can best do their work by limiting themselves to the declaration of broad policies after receipt of the views of those concerned and by avoiding administrative decisions directly affecting personnel or specific curriculum. To the fullest extent possible, if the college is to make the most favorable impact on the community, the various segments that make it up should so order their affairs that the college presents a reasoned and united front to the community and not the spectacle of tearing itself apart in a divisive power struggle among faculty, students, administration, and Trustees. Columbia University has sought to attain unity by creating a unique Senate, including faculty, students, administration and alumni who have been delegated authority over all university questions except budgetary, real property and contract matters, or in situations where the president advises that trustee concurrence is necessary.

Broadening of trustee representation to include young people, faculty from outside the college or the college system, and alumni might help in attaining the unity.

Meanwhile the community should be making strenuous efforts of its own. The mass media should give a more balanced picture of the college. In the event of demonstrations, it should not equate the student leaders with the college president. Television should report, not create, the news; it should not reward disruption by instant replay and instant interview. The very presence of TV cameras tends to produce the performance everyone claims he is against. If the community gave less coverage and expressed less interest in disruption, there would be less disruption.

The community should be more understanding of the problems inherent in mass higher education. Among a college population the size of cities, there will always be city problems: nuisances, suicides, crimes. In a culture which has changed from concealment to overemphasis of sex, it should not be surprising that sex questions arise on the campus and that these are frankly discussed. The community should appreciate that no other college generation has taken such an interest or participated as directly in the study and solution of urban problems.

The black community should grasp the opportunity extended by several of the colleges to assist in the development of relevant black studies programs. This is an urgent matter. For some time extremist elements have been trying to force the colleges to adopt a procedure and curriculum of Afro-American studies which are designed to produce a distorted picture of black contributions to the culture, society and the economy and, under the guise of relevance, to indoctrinate and exacerbate racial hatreds. The result of such a program would be (as has been pointed out in a number of studies and editorials) second- or third-rate degrees which will do little to help solve the problems of the ghetto but which will add to its frustrations and hostility. There is evidence that the moderate black community is beginning to recognize the damage implicit in a propagandist course of study, in its impracticability and unreality. The necessity for a group of studies to remedy past omissions and inequities, to afford answers to questions of identity and self-respect, is recognized by the institutions and all concerned, but these programs, to be part of the pursuit of truth, require the understanding and support of the responsible black community working with students, administration and faculty. The same considerations apply to the Mexican-American ethnic studies and the involvement of their community in the development of meaningful curricula.

There is no question but that the community needs the college and the university as never before in attacking the environmental problems of the cities and in projecting plans for the future. The young who soon will inherit a scarred and troubled earth rightly are worried about their inheritance. But so are we, the older generation, the so-called Establishment, because at the accelerated pace of social and political change, most of us will still be here to witness whether we are bequeathing the remains of an impossible mess. There is no division between the generations; there is no gap between the generations with regard to the possibility and prospects we face: a depleted and polluted planet, overpopulation, atomic destruction. The colleges and universities and the communities are becoming increasingly aware that the future is more and more a race between education and disaster, between facing truth and surviving, or ignoring it and dying. The greatest hope for the future is that the community, in supporting the college, is, for the most part,

supporting a young generation conscious of the enormousness of the problems, anxious to learn, ready to pitch in and help, and committed to human betterment. If the community is wise, it will provide leadership for this generation and an early opportunity for them to participate in decisions that will affect us all. Indeed, the chasm that seems to be developing between the generations can be closed to the normal and healthy distance if the community exhibits some of the impatience to tackle its problems that the emergency calls for.

Let me put it another way. Recently, Theodore Meyer, former Chairman of the University of California Board of Regents, called my attention to a statement of George Pompidou before he became President of France. He said, immediately following the Sorbonne riots of May 1968:

> For me this is a time of silence and meditation. The May crisis deeply impressed me. I have thought it over and over, and I remain convinced that we are faced with a crisis of civilization that concerns the youth of the whole world. Nothing has been solved as yet. Such a thing has happened three or four times in history, not more, a sudden collapse of all the beliefs upon which a civilization was based. It has nothing to do with the great revolutions of 1789 or 1917. The Roman youth might have felt something similar around the fourth century or the European youth at the end of the fifteenth century. Maybe I shall write a book about it.

I agree that some of the antics, some of the escapism, some of the militancy of American college youth may appear to reflect the malaise described by Mr. Pompidou. But I think that the principal reason for youth's unrest and unhappiness is that the mission to achieve a decent world, which seems so feasible in college, appears to be a mission impossible in the aging eyes of the community. The community tells the youth that our problems are too complex, too rock-hard for solutions now or in the near future. But youth feels that these are not ordinary times that are out of joint, that for the first time in history doomsday is possible. This is the hangup of youth, this is its urgency -- the threat, by one way or another, of extinction. When the community (in the widest sense of city, state and nation) is prepared to apply the energies of the space age to provide space on earth for each man to live, work and pursue happiness, it will capture the heart and mind of youth, and youth will come home.

Employment Relations of Academic Personnel in the California State Colleges

Address to the Western Conference of the Public Personnel Association March 26, 1968

Gentlemen:

I am pleased to have the opportunity to discuss with you this afternoon some interesting and difficult questions as they pertain to employment relations in the California State Colleges. To some extent, these relations have a unique character in view of California law, but generally they reflect problems and pressures which are present in academic institutions throughout the United States.

Collective Bargaining in Public Agencies

1. In general I would like to set my discussion of the California State College situation against the background of some recent developments in the field of collective bargaining in the public agencies. As you undoubtedly know, the idea of unionization and collective bargaining in connection with public employment is quite new in this country. When President Franklin D. Roosevelt gave a tremendous impetus to collective bargaining in private industry, through his leadership in procuring the passage of the National Labor Relations Act, he at the same time had a very restricted view with respect to the application of collective bargaining to public agencies. In a letter which he wrote to the National Federation of Federal Employees, dated August 16, 1937, he said:

> All Government employees should realize that the process of collective bargaining, as usually understood, cannot be transplanted into the public service. It has its distinct and insurmountable limitations when applied to public personnel management. The very nature and purposes of Government make it impossible for administrative officials to represent fully, or to bind the employer in mutual discussions with Government employee organizations. The employer is the whole people, who speak by means of laws enacted by their representatives in Congress. Accordingly, administrative officials and employees alike are governed and guided and, in many instances, restricted by laws which establish policies, procedures, or rules in personnel matters.

He also stated:

> A strike of public employees manifests nothing less than an attempt to prevent or obstruct the operations of Government until their demands are satisfied. Such action, looking toward the paralysis of Government by those who have sworn to support it, is unthinkable and intolerable.

The court decisions in the United States for a good many years have construed the law on collective bargaining largely in accord with these precepts announced by President Roosevelt. Thus, the general rule has been announced that collective bargaining would not be an appropriate instrument to use in situations where personnel relationships are covered by the details of civil service laws and regulations. In civil service, the law and regulations set forth all or practically all of the substantive conditions of employment which would constitute a collective bargaining agreement. There is a growing effort, however, by employee organizations to require the public employer to discuss and even to bargain upon economic issues which may not be specifically covered by the civil service law regulations or which would give to the public employees a voice in determining matters of policy concerning the activities of the public agency involved.

The law, either by statute or appellate decision, has been clear in denying public employees the legal right to strike.

2. Teachers' Unions.

Nevertheless, the principles which I have just mentioned have recently been challenged in a number of states by teachers' unions. The terms and conditions governing teacher employment are also the subject of law and regulation, as in the case of the civil service, but the salaries, working conditions, matters of professional status and fringe benefits are usually fixed by a board of education in a manner different from that used with respect to other employees. Moreover, there is a considerable area where educational policy and the conditions of a teacher's employment overlap, for example, in class size, the use of disciplinary authority in the classroom, the procedure for assignment of teachers, etc. In a number of instances, the teachers' unions have ignored statutory provisions which either provided for employer-employee relations excluding collective bargaining, or for special substitute forms for collective bargaining, and insisted on following the industrial pattern, including striking when their demands were not met. This has occurred in New York, Florida, Wisconsin, and for a day in San Francisco. Newspaper, television and radio editorials in the various cities affected inveighed, in vain, against the illegality of these actions. In New York, the teachers' union was required to pay a substantial fine and the

leaders temporarily were put in jail for violating an injunction against the strike. In the end the strikers were successful from the standpoint of the teachers. They obtained significant increases in salaries; they won a number of their demands with respect to participation in policy decision making. The means may not have justified the end, but they accomplished it.

3. Relationships in Higher Education.

Unionization and collective bargaining with respect to the academic community in higher education have not yet reached such a hot point of friction. There are some very good reasons why this should be so. The life of a professor is much freer from the controls of an administrative bureaucracy than that of the elementary and secondary school teacher. He does not have nearly as many hours of teaching; he is in far more control of his own course and teaching program and procedure. He and his peers share much more in campus governance and educational policy making than do the public school teachers. Indeed, there are many aspects of the life of a professor which many of us would like to share — the pace, the time for reflection, the long vacations, the sabbaticals, tenure, and so on. We may not, however, be so anxious to take on the academic salary scale, nor do I wish to indicate that the professor's total weekly hours are any less than his counterpart in civil service or in industry; indeed, they usually are more. But there are advantages which have attracted able men and women to this profession over a long period of time, and these are usually of an individual rather than a collective character.

Moreover, the benefits which the academic profession enjoys have a long background. Many of them derive from the Middle Ages when academic institutions were self-governing, along the lines of a monastery, upon which the earliest universities were patterned. During most of the existence of institutions of higher education, a rather close organization of the institutional operation was possible because the numbers of students were relatively small. There was a family aspect to the colleges and universities. But we are now deep in the twentieth century in the United States, and particularly in California, when we recognize that higher education must be an opportunity extended to all students who are academically qualified. Almost 60% of our high school graduates plan to go on to an institution of higher education. A large number of institutions of higher education have become small cities. The University has campuses of approximately 27,500 students and some of our State College campuses have 20,000 in attendance.

The California State College system has 18 colleges. We employ over 9,000 professors. The total student body is approximately 189,000. This is no longer a family project. Relationships between the college administrator and the professor have become more impersonal, more difficult.

From the viewpoint of the professor's office, the administrative bureaucracy looms large and ponderous.

Not only does the factor of size play an inevitable part in employer-employee relations, but the very system is new. Most of these colleges were established independently and developed as individual academic duchies. They were gathered together in a single system in 1960 because the Legislature simply refused to deal with an ever-growing number of separate entities, each competing for a larger share of the state funds. It was expected that the new central administration would impose such uniform regulations as were necessary to coordinate all of the colleges, to assure that equal opportunity would be extended to students throughout the state, and to effect the economies in orderly growth and in operation which central control should be able to achieve. Naturally, the system has reflected the pulls and tugs between the field and the capital which every federal system experiences. Now that costs have mounted and administration has become complex, it is not surprising that the individual professor on one of the 18 campuses has a convenient scapegoat to blame for any difficulties he may have, namely that devil — the central administration.

The Trustees and the Chancellor have seen the problem as primarily one of governance; if the faculty is given a meaningful participation in matters of educational policy (as in the determination of curriculum), of professional status (as in appointment, promotions and discipline), and in economic issues bearing on their own compensation, working conditions and the plant in which they teach (as in the formulation of budgetary proposals to the Legislature), we should be adhering to the academic tradition and, at the same time, be providing the most constructive relations between administration and faculty. In accordance with this principle and pursuant to the request of the faculty leadership, the Trustees approved the establishment of a Statewide Academic Senate and of representative senates on each campus within a short time after the Trustees themselves were created. These agencies, with wide faculty representation, have been theoretically advisory, but in a vast amount of situations, the ability to advise becomes practically the authority to decide. Certainly the faculties determine the content of their courses and the nature and scope of the curriculum of each college with only general budgetary or curricular guidelines to control them. As a practical matter, the college president acts in accordance with most faculty recommendations in the area of appointment, granting of tenure and promotions and in discipline. Indeed, since 1963 the president himself is appointed by the Trustees as the end result of a process in which the campus senate has played a prominent role. The representative voice of the faculty reaches the Board of Trustees with respect to salary and budgetary proposals to be made to the Legislature, and in the

last several years salary recommendations have been worked out jointly between the Chancellor and the senates and other faculty organizations before being presented to the Trustees.

But as the number of campuses has increased and proposals to the Legislature have been cut down by other executive departments and the Legislature, and the competitive salary position of the state college professors has been reduced with respect to comparison institutions, there has been evident dissatisfaction evidenced by several faculty organizations and groups. Although faculty compensation has held up competitively reasonably well, it is not equal to the University of California, and certain fringe and professional benefits available in other institutions have not been available in the California State Colleges. Moreover, certain faculty organizations believe that the administration of the colleges should be, for the most part, turned over to them. The Chancellor should become more or less the executive secretary of the Statewide Academic Senate, and the campus president the executive secretary of the local senate. Practically all decisions in the field of educational policy and in professional status should be made finally by some faculty organization or committee of the senate.

The route that these organizations wish to take to achieve their aims is the familiar one of collective bargaining. At least two of the large faculty organizations demand the bargaining procedure. Three of the organizations oppose collective bargaining in any traditional sense but desire that the position of the statewide and local senates be strengthened, which can mean only that advisory functions become delegated functions to a wider extent. In the economic field, these three organizations would be satisfied if the Statewide Academic Senate, together with representatives of the various unofficial faculty organizations would sit down, in some kind of council, to meet and confer with the Trustees or their representatives prior to the formulation of budget recommendations. In effect, this would be formalizing the procedure which has been followed in recent years.

Before evaluating the demand for collective bargaining in the field of public higher education, it may be well to examine the anatomy of collective bargaining.

Anatomy of Collective Bargaining

The fundamental purpose of collective bargaining is the negotiation and settlement of the terms of a labor contract between an employer on the one side and an organized body of workers on the other. In the process of negotiation and administering the contract, the employer deals with the organization as the exclusive representative of the workers or employees. The employer does not deal with the employees in other groups or individually.

The following additional factors should be noted:

1. The collective bargaining agreement is between parties having the capacity to bargain. In other words, each party must be able to carry out the obligations of the agreement reached.

2. The line between employer and employee is clearly drawn. Personnel who have supervisory functions or who are involved in the determination of management policy are excluded from the employees' bargaining unit. By the same token, employees are excluded from most of the decision-making authority reserved to management.

Management has broad, reserved authority, either express or implied. It schedules operations, determines production or distribution policy, has the right to discharge for cause, subject to a grievance procedure administered by a committee in which management shares membership equally with the representatives of the labor organization, and, in case of a deadlock, most contracts provide that an impartial arbitrator determines the validity of the discharge.

3. The exclusive bargaining agent represents an appropriate unit of the employer. The unit has common interests in relation to its own members and to the employer. A single negotiation and contract may cover a number of plants in an extended area if the interests and needs are substantially the same.

4. The subjects of bargaining are generally wages, hours and working conditions. Working conditions are often defined in broad terms. Similarly, vacation rights, sick leave, holidays, pension benefits and many other factors with a cost tag are included. The contract is mostly concerned with economic items.

5. Negotiations are usually conducted in secret until the point of agreement or impasse. In extensive operations involving a large number of employees, both sides are usually represented by experienced negotiators. Negotiations are conducted at arm's length, and it is essentially an adversary process during the bargaining period and has been so characterized by the U.S. Supreme Court and in articles written by faculty members discussing the potentials of collective bargaining in the colleges. (The President of Local 2 of the United Federation of Teachers, New York City, recently described collective bargaining negotiations as a state of war where maximum pressures are brought to bear and where both sides must stay on a war footing.)

The demands, claims, tactics, and actions of collective bargaining are quite different from the modes of expression and techniques usually employed by the academic process in efforts to present materials, opposing views and solutions.

The employer pays his own bargaining costs and the bargaining agent pays his own costs; these include costs of representation, travel

expenses, if necessary, accumulation and development of data and information, etc.

6. In the event of an impasse, each side reserves the right to use sanctions to persuade or compel the other side to agree to its position. The employer must risk the loss of profit, the employees the loss of pay, in seeking their objectives. The ultimate sanction is the strike in the case of employees and a lockout in the case of employers. The right to strike has been described as essential to collective bargaining.

Factors of Collective Bargaining as Applied to the State Colleges

The foregoing suggests that a number of distinctions exist when the factors listed are applied to the State College system.

1. It is clear that the Trustees of the State Colleges are not in a position to enter into a binding contract with any labor organization covering any matter which later will cost the state money. The Trustees could not obligate themselves to carry out their obligations to spend because, in the main, they can spend only the monies which they receive from legislative appropriations.

The Trustees do not have any taxing power. They do not have the same authority as district school boards or boards of supervisors which do have the power to set tax rates.

Other agencies outside of the Trustees have considerable authority in budgetary matters — the State Department of Finance, the Governor and the Legislature. In the demands made to date, it has not been proposed that these external agencies be made party to the agreement. In the literature of certain of the organizations it is recommended that these other agencies be made parties to an agreement. There is no indication whatever that any of these agencies would participate in such a procedure. From the legislative standpoint it would seem impractical and contrary to the doctrine of legislative independence. No committee of the Legislature could bind the entire Legislature; the Legislature holds hearings before it enacts legislation; it does not bargain with any special interest or segment to make a contract binding upon itself.

2. It is quite apparent from the point just made that the Trustees do not have the independent capacity to bargain. It has been suggested, however, that the Trustees should bargain subject to approval by the other agencies of government and the Legislature.

The Trustees would be placed in a most difficult position in this kind of tentative bargaining. Since the decision making would be in other hands, they might determine that they should rubberstamp the proposed increases and changes and thus pass the buck to the reviewing and appropriating agencies. Assuming the Trustees took this course, they would be severely criticized for failure to protect the state's interest and soon be disregarded in financial matters. If the Trustees took a hard line in an effort to give maximum protection to the taxpayers'

interest, the faculties would soon consider the Trustees their initial enemy and, particularly if successful in obtaining a more liberal appropriation from above, would always press for more than they expected to receive from the governing board. If the Trustees shrugged their shoulders and refused to participate in the bargaining and simply transferred the problem, they would be accused of failure to exercise their duty to govern.

In short, bargaining subject to approval would not seem to be a very satisfactory process. Of course, if the Legislature imposes this duty upon the Trustees, they would have to discharge it to the best of their ability as an employer. The citizens of the state would expect them to act in the capacity of an employer. Undoubtedly, under such circumstances they would employ the best possible professional assistance to conduct the actual bargaining and to report the progress to them. Bargaining is a time-consuming process and the Trustees could not be expected (to any appreciable extent) to engage in it directly. Thus, the faculties might find the Trustees far more remote in their dealings under collective bargaining than in the close exchanges which can occur at current meetings of the Board.

3. Since administrative lines would be clearly drawn, the Trustees would probably insist that faculty participation in the selection of administrative personnel must cease. If the president of the college must bargain with a faculty organization in purely local matters, then the faculty should have no part in selecting him or his officers. The Trustees may well have to take the position that administrative officers be equally represented on all grievance committees and that impartial arbitrators, outside of faculty and administration, have the final word on discharges. This is not intended to be an arbitrary statement of position but to indicate that such a position would be entirely in line with the collective bargaining pattern.

4. While collective bargaining deals with economic matters in the academic area, it is often difficult to separate the economic from the educational aspects. For all practical purposes the exclusive bargaining agent would become the most important faculty body on the campus or for all campuses. Such jurisdiction as an academic senate would have left to it would be largely that which the bargaining agent relinquished or procured for it. On economic matters the bargaining agent would be substantially substituted for the senate in the representation of the faculty interest.

Indeed, it is doubtful whether a system of fully effective and independent faculty senates can co-exist with a system of separate faculty collective bargaining agents, and certainly the jurisdiction of the senates would be curtailed. It is not likely that the Trustees would be able to

justify the same measure of support to the senates if a substantial part of their functions were taken over by a bargaining agent.

Once an exclusive agent is selected, it is not appropriate for the employer to deal with other parties (including any other organization of employees) or individuals. It would seem to be a kind of monolithic structure which would be less flexible and less likely to reflect the individuality of faculty thought than the present structure or several possible alternatives discussed by faculty organizations opposed to collective bargaining.

5. The appropriate unit of employees regarding most economic conditions of employment would seem to be the entire faculty of all of the colleges. Thus, any exclusive bargaining agent should be selected on a statewide basis to negotiate on the overall economic issues. It would not be appropriate for a group selected by the faculty of one campus to negotiate statewide issues for the faculty on all campuses.

6. At various stages in the bargaining process, it would be necessary for the designated representative or members of the Trustees to report to them for instructions. Under present conditions such a meeting would have to be public. To engage in the process of collective bargaining and to take "progressive" steps in public would be, from a practical standpoint, impossible. A change in the law would be essential in order to permit secret sessions.

The existing procedure of faculty, trustee and chancellor relations is to provide for exchange, comment, and criticism and decisions openly arrived at. The State Senate and the presidents sit alongside the Chancellor and the Trustees. Contentions and views are subject to public scrutiny and criticism. The program has been steadily evolving into one of more shared responsibility. While it is true that the Trustees have reserved, in many cases, the power of ultimate decision to meet ultimate responsibility, in a practical sense, there has been an enormous delegation of power to the colleges, to the Academic Senate and to faculty senates and groups. Most policies for the colleges originate or are modified as a result of action taken by the local and statewide senates, particularly in the educational field and in matters of professional status. This area of substantial delegation is constantly growing. The Trustees are more interested in general participation in the development of policy than they are in the origin or authorship of policy. In the determination of academic programs the Trustees believe that the windows and doors should be as wide open as possible.

It seems more difficult to arrive at an acceptable decision that, where necessary, will receive the stamp of legislative approval through the arm's length and adversary process of collective bargaining.

7. Under collective bargaining, the agent pays its own costs of travel, research, and representation. At present the Academic Senate's

expenditures are supported by state appropriation and the officials thereof are given a certain amount of release time to participate in its activities.

8. In May 1967 the entire faculty were given the opportunity to vote on whether they desired collective bargaining. While approximately 68% of the total ballots distributed were returned and counted, of the ballots cast more than 52% were against collective bargaining, and more than 47% were for it. Putting aside how each voter defined collective bargaining to himself, it is still significant to note the large vote for collective bargaining.

The principal point of this May poll was that the organizations to be selected for bargaining would be prepared to recommend and implement sanctions. The determinative sanctions, after impasse, are the strike (including slowdown) and the lockout. As previously noted, public employees throughout the United States do not have the right to strike. It is also true that a government agency does not have the right to lockout. The agency is under duty to provide the public service for which it was created and exists. The government agency services the citizens and must keep its doors open to them.

The pressure of a strike does not cause the state to lose profits. However, it would cost the strikers their pay even if the strike were otherwise legal. If the strike were illegal (the prevailing law), the public employees under statute may lose vital security (tenure) and other rights. Illegal strikes by teachers have been noted, but it is hoped that the academic professional personnel in higher education who are in charge of the education of the leaders of the future would not wish to set for them an example of unlawful action.

After reviewing the factors just discussed, the Board of Trustees made a decision, namely, that in the absence of an express declaration and direction of the Legislature to bargain collectively, in accordance with a statutory program, the Trustees will not participate in collective bargaining. Instead, they favor the development of institutional governance on the basis of the Statement on Government of Colleges and Universities issued by the American Association of University Professors and set forth in the Winter 1966 issue of the *AAUP Bulletin*. As applied to the system of the State Colleges, the AAUP principles support the continued growth, strengthening and developing of the statewide and local senates. According to these principles the faculty bodies usually have the determining influence in matters of curriculum, and normally their recommendations regarding matters of professional status and of discipline of their own members will be followed by the executive authority. But it is recognized that the executive has the final authority and responsibility. Matters of finance and budgetary programs and certain other aspects of the college program have been principally

the responsibility of administration. And, in still other matters pertaining to student life, the students should have the primary responsibility. Underlying these principles is the idea that a college or university is an interdependent operation with overlapping interests and responsibilities.

This is not to say that there are no other forms of governance or personnel relations possible in higher education. Recently the State of New York has passed a broad collective bargaining or negotiating statute which applies to all public service, including public higher education. Under this new law, effective September 1, 1967, the employees of public agencies are authorized to form organizations which can be certified and recognized to represent employees for purposes of negotiating grievances and written agreements. A Public Employment Relations Board created in the State Department of Civil Service is given the controlling authority in the Act. It provides studies and regulations regarding representation, the size of the negotiating unit, and the subjects which are open to negotiation. The government agency and the labor organization can enter into a written agreement covering appropriate subjects sixty days prior to the date required for submission of its budget. In the event of failure of agreement the Public Relations Board provides a mediator and if he is not successful, a factfinding board, and the factfinding board must make a report (if the dispute is not resolved) at least fifteen days prior to the budget submission date. The Public Relations Board has the power to make further recommendations for settlement and it must file the recommendation of the factfinding board and its own recommendations with the legislative body. In short, there is a kind of hierarchy of negotiations and factfinding preceding the legislative session. In view of the prior discussion it is expected that the Legislature will be considerably influenced by the recommendations made to it. But there is no guarantee that this will be the result; in the end the Legislature will have to make up its own mind, probably after further hearings. Fundamentally the decisions on these matters are political and must adhere to the political process.

It is too early to evaluate the experience under this new law (although in the case of New York City we have seen how striking teachers ignored the provisions of a similar law applicable to them). The information I have received, however, indicates that the leaders of higher education are extremely unhappy with its initial procedures and its probable impact on personnel relationships and university governance. This is not surprising.

My own sympathy goes with the vast number of faculty people who want to teach and engage in research in an atmosphere that is not constantly charged with demands and demonstrations by word and deed of a kind not usually associated with the academic world. I do not mean to

suggest that professors are or should be individually isolated or should act alone in matters of their mutual concern. The academic profession has inherited a valuable bundle of rights and privileges recognized by custom and practice throughout the country which (notwithstanding certain salary inequities) stand up quite well in comparison with the best collective bargaining agreements and civil service rules. They have won their status and benefits over the centuries and most faculty members, at least for the present, do not want to sell their heritage for a mess of dubious negotiations which ultimately could change the whole nature of their profession.*

---

*Legislation of 1978 is now fully effective authorizing the meeting and conferring between Trustees and an exclusive faculties' bargaining agent for the purpose of reaching a "memorandum of understanding," subject to certain approvals in the legislative process. During negotiations the Governor shall, and both Houses of the Legislature may, appoint representatives to give their views on matters which would require appropriations or legislative action. If the memorandum of understanding is not thereafter funded by an enacted budget or otherwise, its financial aspects must be referred back to the parties.

The statute is not to be construed to diminish the traditional functions of the academic senates.

There are provisions for mediation and fact finding to overcome an impasse and to facilitate reaching an understanding.

If all works as well as the law intends, many of the problems outlined in this chapter will be resolved. In any event, it may be noted that on the economic issues the Legislature may participate in the first word and it will certainly have the last.

Comments on the Address of Ronald W. Haughton and on the End of the San Francisco State College Strike

Industrial Relations Research Association, Bay Area Chapter

San Francisco

April 8, 1969

I am delighted to have the opportunity to participate in this program in which our experienced and distinguished expert, Mr. Haughton, has expressed his views on mediation, factfinding and arbitration.

As we know, Mr. Haughton is an umpire of national authority. However, his presence reminds me of the three youngsters who were petitioning to be the umpire of a sandlot baseball game. In support of their respective claims the first said: "I calls them the way I sees them"; the second said: "I call them the way they is"; and the third said: "They ain't nothin' till I call 'em." That's the key to Mr. Haughton's success — they ain't nothin' till he calls 'em.

I assume that I was vaulted into this panel position by reason of my participation as Chairman of the Regional Committee of Trustees in the settlement of the recent AFT strike at San Francisco State College. This was indeed a unique experience. I was a non-negotiator meeting with other non-negotiators who met with a non-mediator to confer upon ways and means of bringing to an end a non or illegal strike. We had no statutory guidelines except the authority "to meet and confer." There were a number among our fellow trustees and state government officials who deemed this phrase simply to "meet and listen." There were others who said that we could exchange views but there was some question as to whether we could do so "in good faith." In any event, our authority appeared to be limited by Trustee policy to conducting our discussions within existing Trustee policy and not to venture into new policy areas. It was on this narrow ledge that Mr. Johns and I had to walk. Twice we almost fell off — once he pushed me and once I pushed him — but on each occasion the man still on the ledge helped the other non-negotiator to climb back.

In the end we were able to develop a formula which included the confirmation of a number of prior actions and commitments by the Trustees and the College and the recommendation of a commitment of the Statewide Academic Senate to liberalize its grievance procedures, which met with general acceptance. All of this was possible because the major power structure in this community and the majority of our committee were determined that the strike must be settled in the interest of preserving the College for the San Francisco community. We had strong

doubt as to whether the college could have weathered a teachers' strike which would have extended well into the spring semester, particularly if the student strike was continued. On the other hand we were strongly of the view that if the teachers' strike were settled, the student strike on the subject of minority curriculum and instruction therein would also be resolved. These convictions, backed by a considerable amount of hard work, paid off.

A very substantial contributor to the solution was today's speaker. Perhaps his principal contribution was to help reduce the issues from fifty-three to three. This hard but realistic simplification gave all of us a basis upon which to proceed.

This is only a capsule summary of events which covered approximately two months and a multitude of committee and administrative meetings, both formal and informal. However, it may be sufficient to indicate that the dispute exemplified a number of the situations outlined in Mr. Haughton's remarks.

First, there was no state statute setting forth any guidelines for disputes in the academic field other than the meet-and-confer requirement which applied to all employee organizations as well as the subject union. It was difficult to conduct significant discussions under these circumstances. Second, a large number of the fifty-three demands of the union had price tags on them. It was immediately evident that neither the Trustees Committee nor the Board could make binding commitments on such issues because only the Legislature could make appropriations. On one of the issues — the teaching load — the committee was willing to recommend factfinding. The offer at least had the virtue of causing the demand to be withdrawn.

Usually factfinding is acceptable to the side which is rather certain of the facts. It may be acceptable to both parties where there is genuine uncertainty about the facts. In the public sector where so much factual data is available, third-party factfinding should not be necessary, though it can offer a way out of an awkward position.

Voluntary arbitration was out of the question. The Board of Trustees considered that such a submission would constitute an abandonment of their governmental function.

The differences between the private and the public sectors in collective bargaining on the state level were made apparent. The Statewide Academic Senate and a number of the local academic senates considered that they were developing alternative relationships to union relationships which should be protected, although they stated that they might be tempted to enter into the bargaining field themselves.

The college teaching field is part of that growing mass of public employees to which the speaker referred and which offers such temptations to union organization. Yet unions must take into account the very

substantial achievements of alternative programs of negotiations and political action before they attempt to penetrate deeply into this field. Civil service law and regulations cover a wide scope of issues customarily reserved to the bargaining process in the private sector. The academic tradition of shared responsibility, even when not fully realized, has provided very substantial advantages to professional personnel in the form of lifetime tenure, a promotion and disciplinary procedure generally controlled by peers, academic due process in grievance procedures, maximum vacation periods, sabbatical leaves, etc. Indeed the professors of the academy have from the distant past confronted public officials, and town versus gown provided the Middle Ages with some of the most bitter fights. In the 1300's the mayor of Oxford was defeated in his efforts to extend town jurisdiction into the university, and as a result for 500 years he had to come hat in hand to the head of the university in a ritual of apology. I am not stating that the union does not have a place in the academic sun; I am merely pointing out that it will have to contend with alternatives.

The dispute in San Francisco was accompanied by a long, illegal strike. Restraining orders and an injunction were obtained against the union. However, while on the verge of enforcement, they were never implemented because of the concern that contempt proceedings would produce martyrs instead of results. The fact that the strike was tinged with illegality did influence public opinion.

The question arises as to whether a statute providing for compulsory arbitration of disputes in the public sector would be advisable. I believe that it would be opposed in the present Legislature on the ground that it would place in third-party hands the final determination of legislative policy. Be that as it may, there are two further questions to be asked: If every public dispute must be subject to arbitration, would there be any deterrent to a union to press for claims without too much attention to merit because there would be nothing to lose, and, second, can we be sure that the union would comply with the order of the arbitrator if it has refused to comply with the court injunction? I would say that compulsory arbitration would be a last resort, but if it is essential to maintain the peace in any vital public sector it would be adopted in other states and perhaps in this state.

III. Student Unrest

A Symbol of the Aspirations of Youth

Presentation of President John F. Kennedy for Doctor of Laws Degree San Diego State College June 1963

Mr. Chancellor, I present John Fitzgerald Kennedy: Leader of the Free World, he understands and accepts fully the challenges of the 20th century; the demand for equal opportunities in education and equality of civil and human rights at home, the revolution of rising expectations abroad.

A young President, he symbolizes the hopes and aspirations of our youth and looks to the potentials of the future rather than the frustrations of the past.

He has, through addresses and broadcasts, given our citizens a new insight into the complexities of statecraft.

He has, by example in and out of his home, raised the national level of respect for scholarship, the arts and individual creativity.

He has created a strategy for peace, and as part thereof, the Peace Corps, and channeled a good measure of American idealism and practicality into this constructive work.

He has, with great courage, confronted the issue of survival of civilization and of freedom for our people and all peoples.

For these and other distinguished contributions to the expanding mind and spirit and dignity of man, we salute him and proudly present him for the first honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, to be conferred by the California State Colleges.

A Spoonful of Sugar

Commencement Address
San Jose State College
June 11, 1965

The moment in these graduation exercises which you have most dreaded has arrived — the Commencement Address. I will try to make it as easy on you as possible. As Mary Poppins says, "A spoonful of sugar helps the medicine go down."

Actually, I am not going to give an *Address*, which has rather formal connotations. I simply will talk to you for a while about some of the things which may be close to you on such a day as this.

First of all, it is a time for expressing some sentiment, some testimony to your life in this college, symbolized best perhaps by your affection for Tower Hall. The Tower will be retained in the modernization of the college, as it should be. There is a meaning and significance to tradition, to preserving some of the links to the past. We remember that San Jose State College is the oldest of the state colleges and has roots deep in the history of California. When we pay our respects to tradition it is no empty form. It reminds us that no generation can build an enlightened society by itself; that each generation must build on the achievements of those who have gone before it. I do not mean that progress is to be represented by any straight line on a graph. But there are values inherent in continuity. The British, as you know, have a very marked sense of tradition. They find it secure and comforting that a Tory or a Labor government still speaks in the name of the Queen. The Tower of London reminds the British people of a long and glorious history. The Tower of San Jose State College reminds us also of a distinguished past sans the beheadings, unless you count the students who have failed to make their grades.

It is also time for some contemplation on the meaning of your own educational experiences. In this connection I was most impressed by a statement on the subject "Why Are You In College?" which was made by Professor Conway Esselstyn of the Sociology Department of this college at a meeting of last year's new students.

He pointed out that a student may go to college to "get an education" or to "become educated." If you go to college "to get an education," it means that you approach college as a supermarket. To quote Professor Esselstyn: "Here are the desired commodities (courses) on the shelves, out of which you will make your selection. There are a few busy clerks in white coats (professors) moving about the aisles to help you if you get lost and to keep the stocks replenished. Here is a checkout station (graduation) where you pay for your wagonload and off you go." There are some limitations to this

approach, but, by and large, you will get "pretty good stuff" although it tends to be standardized. You will acquire some very important skills and your shopping will have been pleasant.

On the other hand, if you came to college "to become educated," Professor Esselstyn points out that you "don't get anything." You *become* something that you were not before; it will affect you and no one else, and you will have an adventure into uncertainty. You will live on the edge of things where freedom is; you will respect learning and knowledge for their own sake; you will be fascinated by the process of discovery. You will (if I may elaborate) be able to leave the capsule of your classroom and go exploring in intellectual space without a space suit and with only the rope of reason to hang onto. If you have become educated, most of it will have been accomplished by yourself.

It is too late at this particular moment to change the experience of your undergraduate years, but you might ask yourself the question: Did I "get an education" or did I "become educated?" I suggest a further reflection on an experience which I am certain each of you has had. There was a point when you finished an assignment or a task — a difficult term paper, a complex examination, for which you diligently prepared and which involved intellectual struggle and the painful process of thought — and emerged from it with the same exhilaration as did My Fair Lady, who finally achieved the line "The rain in Spain falls mainly on the plain." That was a precious moment for you when you did it — and a lesson of a lifetime was implicit in it: Lasting achievement does not come easily.

Another consideration for some introspection concerns the statue which purports to represent the spirit of this college — the spirit of Spardi. I understand that the name is derived from a mascot and is not too closely related to the word "Spartan." Perhaps this is just as well. The Spartan was a man of strength and courage and discipline but he was a product of a tightly controlled military society and not of the liberal education which we espouse. Actually, I have read your Spartan creed and I do not think you are Spartans at all. I think you are Athenians in disguise. But I do see the value of fighting under Spartan standards on the athletic field, which you have done so successfully and commendably.

In any event, the statue of Spardi is depicted in the bold act of leading a charge, shield forward, sword raised. Against whom is the charge directed — the faculty, the administration or the trustees? Is it against some evil, ancient or modern? Is it against some aspect of college life which is the subject of student revolt?

This brings me to a subject which has excited the interest of great numbers of people both here and abroad — the alleged unrest or revolt of students on American campuses. In some respects, I might have

some qualification to speak on this subject since I was graduated from the University of California in the late 1920's, and my generation in its day was considered to be a rebel generation. Indeed, one of the student speakers at my graduation took the University apart in his saying that at the University there was

> Too much teaching, and not enough learning; too much information, and not enough thought; too much thinking about things, and not enough thinking through them; too much organization, and not enough individuality; too much noise, and not enough solitude; too much business and not enough humanity; too much loafing, and not enough study; too much mechanism, and not enough soul.

Some of these contentions still seem current. I have read them to suggest that in spirit our generations may not be too far apart. I may say that in later years this rebel graduate received the punishment he deserved; he became a college trustee.

The student rebellion of the so-called Roaring Twenties was largely one of manners. Girls bobbed their hair and wore short sack dresses in protest or in answer to their mothers who had worn their hair long and in a bun and their dresses to the ground. The first off-campus dances were being held in hotels. Jazz had pretty well driven out the waltz and one-step. There was a deep reaction to pompousness and the Victorian proprieties and a resentment against the hypocrisy that was involved in the prohibition law. There was a new freedom of literature and speech. Hemingway was the campus hero; the play *What Price Glory?* presented profanity on the stage. It was also a time of questioning old institutions and values. A magazine printed on butcher paper at the University of California in Berkeley and entitled "The Bull Fest" covered the kind of discussion that was common to all campuses in that day and included chapters on the red tape of administration in higher education, on the various classifications of professors by category rather than by name (we did not have the courage or audacity to produce a tower list), fraternities, sex and religion. Some of these topics may not be unfamiliar to you. The preface was in the form of a conversation between two mothers who discuss the contents of the booklet, in part, as follows:

> *Mrs. Clemens*: Mrs. Crimp! My congratulations. I hear "Bumpy" graduates soon.
> *Mrs. Crimp*: Umm. I hope he does. I wish he was home right now. I don't think college is the right influence for him.
> *Mrs. Clemens*: Why, I can't believe that.

Mrs. Crimp: You can't? Did you see the book that he and some of his cronies wrote? . . . Disgusting I call it — not even written in good English. They use language I haven't heard since my husband died.
Mrs. Clemens: You mean the dialogue book? Why, Tom sent me one. I thought it was fine.
Mrs. Crimp: Well, I didn't. I never dreamed "Bumpy" thought of such things. What should he know about the world — brought up in a refined family? Talking about God as if He was his roommate and about women as if he was married. Vulgar, I call it.
Mrs. Clemens: But Mrs. Crimp . . .
Mrs. Crimp: . . . and didn't I sacrifice for him so he could go to the University? Is he thankful? No. After four years he wants to know why in _____, why he's there.
Mrs. Clemens: But, Mrs. Crimp, aren't you glad to know what your boy is saying when you're not in the room? I think college has taught our boys a great deal when it has taught them to be truthful. After all, they seem to be groping for some peg to pin their faith to.

What the Bull Fest amounted to was that everything was open to question. There was an endless series of questions but very few answers. The students were "groping"; I dare say that they still are. But while the generation of the Twenties was more interested in asking questions, the students of the Sixties seem to be more concerned in finding answers.

Now I do not believe that today's students have abandoned the standard subjects of the Bull Fest or have abjured adopting manners of their own. I don't know whether the dress of some of our students is an act of protest or resignation, but I will admit that it is different. The Watusi and the Monkey have been substituted (after intervening changes) for the Charleston and the Black Bottom; whether this is a move forward or backward I will leave to the historians. In intellectual content, however, students have reached a higher level than previously. I do think that student interests in this generation are more serious and are more apt to be colored by political and social considerations. Unquestionably they have been deeply influenced by the civil rights movement and the participation of students in voter registration and other activities in the deep South. Students fill the Peace Corps; they debate political issues and perform party chores; they establish student forums (as your Seventh Street Forum) and seek to hear the views of controversial off-campus speakers; they join demonstrations on and off campus. There has been an accelerated interest in student self-government and students have

requested a voice in decision making affecting student interests and affairs.

We in the state colleges have had our share of student expression and demonstration in the past year. Students of this college have held several demonstrations — one in cooperation with faculty — for increased fiscal support for the state colleges, including a raise in faculty salaries. Students at the California State College at Los Angeles held teach-ins on the Vietnam situation. As many as nine students at San Francisco State College held a sit-in in the ROTC Building, protesting United States policy in Vietnam; each day for eight days, at five o'clock when the office was closed, those who remained were moved into the corridors and at ten p.m. they were carried out on stretchers to the Commons and offered coffee and blankets for a lie-in for the night. But, then they all went home, cooled off and dispersed by the San Francisco fog until the next morning. Students at California State College at Los Angeles picketed in behalf of non-discriminatory student housing off campus; students at Sacramento State College picketed a meeting of the Board of Trustees protesting inadequate budget support for libraries; students at San Diego State College demonstrated against a representative of the Nazi party speaking on campus and for the right of the University of California students to protest "denial" of their constitutional rights; students at Cal Poly, San Luis Obispo, demonstrated for a broadening of the liberal arts program on the campus; students at Cal Poly, Kellogg, demonstrated in favor of, and other students against, a speech by a member of the John Birch Society. Students at many of the state colleges, including this college and San Francisco State, have demonstrated in behalf of various issues dealing with integration and minority rights; the year before last they participated in picket lines and in sit-ins in San Francisco, taking the citizens' risks for any unlawful acts which they may have committed. (Students who participate in unlawful activity off campus are not entitled to any special defense or privilege in court simply because they are students. They have wanted the general standards of due process, of acquittal or penalty, to apply, and that is just what will happen.)

The numbers involved in these various demonstration activities have been relatively few. Most student opinion was expressed through the college press or through student self-government on matters relating chiefly to local campus issues.

In short, we can say that many of this generation of state college students are willing to make commitments as well as ask questions, and this is all to the good. From what I have heard, the students of this college have conducted their demonstrations, including the Selma sympathy march to San Francisco, in a responsible manner.

The state college students, generally, have avoided the use of great mass demonstrations and I think wisely. The mass demonstration is often a pressure technique predicated on the implied threat of numbers, and is not indicative (even though it may be the result) of individual thought or action; it is the very opposite of the individual expression in the classroom. It is a rather rigid and inflexible device and tends to cause those in authority, who presumably are to be influenced by the demonstration, to become rigid in turn, in order to show their own independence under pressure. The mass demonstration lends itself to demogogy and can get out of hand and become a mob or spill its energies into unlawful acts. Of course, there are times when college students should stand up and be counted and when an orderly assembly can make an impact, but what is suggested here is that the mass demonstration is a rather extreme technique to be used sparingly.

In connection with student government I was most interested in the reports of student executives of your Student Body Association. Your student body president reports the participation of faculty as advisors on a large number of your student committees, and he also reports the request of the students to participate in the planning of curriculum. He reports frustration regarding the proposal on curriculum planning; I suppose that the faculty considers the possibility of students prescribing curriculum with the same jaundiced eye that a physician would view the proposal of a patient to join him in prescribing the procedures of his profession. As a matter of fact, students are included on some twenty faculty committees in this college and two of them are concerned with the instructional program. While in education I do not subscribe to the idea that the consumer is always right, it seems to me that the student is entitled to make his views known, especially on how the teaching program is being received by the students, and I am pleased to see that this interest is recognized by this faculty. Whatever the faculty determines to do, they should be interested to hear the evaluation of serious students regarding the content, form and effectiveness of instruction.

Your student body treasurer gives a most interesting report. He states in part (referring to the student body program):

> There are dozens of respectable, worthwhile programs, involving many interested people. Each of these groups would like to see its activity as the number one in the nation; and they can always come up with an example from "Podunk U" which spends two-thirds of its budget on *its* tiddleywinks team. Unfortunately, the income is simply not expanding proportionally with the desired projects.
>
> . . . The first and most obvious solution to the problem would be to increase the student body fees. However, there

> seems to be some question as to how the students would receive such a proposal in view of the upcoming college union fees and the current proposals for state college tuition fees. In fact, most student government officers (including myself) are scared to death of the idea.
>
> The solution that is currently being espoused is to live within our income and that, as any housewife will tell you, is not an easy thing to do. It involves putting priorities on the program.

I have quoted this statement at length because in microcosm it gives the financial picture of almost any non-profit corporation in the state, of the State College Trustees, and of the State of California itself. It reflects the responsibility and good sense of a good officer and student body.

I quote from your Chief Justice's Report speaking about student misconduct:

> There is a noticeable lack of cases this year as compared to past years. The Judiciary met on only ten cases in the first semester and fifteen the second semester. This indicates that the students are either getting more professional in their lawbreaking activities, or becoming more responsible. It is my opinion that the student is becoming more responsible to the community and the college.

And I enjoyed the report of the Homecoming Chairman who expresses the eternal optimism of young people. He stated: "The half-time ceremonies were dampened by a slight cloudburst prior to and during the game. Consequently, the queen's float was ruined and the antique auto club of San Jose refused to let their cars be used on the slushy field . . . Despite the rain, most people felt that half-time was successful." You can't beat spirit like that.

Concerning all of these student matters, it is worth noting that the student activities in the state colleges thus far have remained free of the turmoil which has characterized them in other places and campuses in the country. Various explanations have been given for the phenomenon: One is that Hyde Park areas exist on all of the campuses and students have been relatively free to express themselves, and other students have been free to listen to them, to agree with them, to disagree with them or to ignore them. Another is that students have been permitted to hear off-campus speakers under reasonable regulations of time, place and manner and assurance of balance in presentation or discussion. Also, we have a rather close relationship between faculty and

students; our students are taught by a teaching faculty and the possibilities of direct contact between student and professor are considerable. And perhaps it has been of some help that the statewide student association of student presidents has a direct access to the Chancellor and Trustees and has used it on a number of student problems (e.g., the scope and charges for student health services and improvements in dormitory construction).

So long as channels are open between faculty and students; so long as student government is given real and not illusory responsibilities within the area of student competence and experience; so long as the college or university is true to the principle of free expression to ascertain the truth, I have no fear of student activities or advocacy.

It may be too early to say whether the student unrest in the state colleges should be characterized as a revolt; much of it represents an effort by students to assume or meet responsibilities rather than to deny or avoid them.

The achievements of higher education must rest principally on those of its graduates. Soon you will take your places in industrial, business and agricultural life, to do the teaching, build the buildings and roads, minister to the social needs, be the citizens of the future.

You are entering into a universe of opportunities. Let us say, conservatively, that you are entering into a world, not simply your community, your state or your nation. The events of the past week have made this fact abundantly clear. In less than twenty minutes a man walked the distance from Hawaii to Bermuda, and when he looked down for a moment he saw, spread before him, the whole state of Texas. So we deliver to you one small world, mostly water, but in its dry spots packed with people, prickly with problems and loaded with possibilities. You graduates of 1965 can reach around it, and into it and above it, and best of all, you have shown that you are not afraid of it. And with respect to it, I have a suggestion or two for your postgraduate activities.

First, when you embark on your permanent work, which may or may not be after further education, or it may or may not be your first assignment, take a job that you feel will give you satisfaction, and keep in mind money is not the only factor. Even with the reduction in hours, most of your life is spent at work.

Second, you should recognize that your education has been started and not completed. You will have the opportunity, or should make the opportunity, to become educated for the rest of your life. You will never know it all, but you can be curious and you can grow intellectually to the end of your days. Don't throw your books away, just add to them.

Third, most of you have had training and some discipline. A good deal of your life as a citizen will be spent outside of your discipline. In

dealing with civic and public matters, try to transfer the standards of your discipline on a subject that you know to your evaluation of a subject about which you may be ignorant or have superficial knowledge. Somehow it is always easier to be an expert in the other fellow's field. All of us have to be constantly on guard against making authoritative pronouncements in areas where we are amateurs.

Fourth, it would be most valuable if the college graduates of this country pooled their desire and strength in an effort to raise the general cultural level of our American society. If they would, apart from other cultural areas of concern, the television and radio programming in this country would undergo some fundamental changes for the better. You can do it by adopting the motto, to be applied in appropriate cases, "We'd rather *fight* than switch it on."

Fifth, most of you are charged with a high degree of idealism about the current issues of the day: the achievement of world peace, the realization of equality of treatment for the races, the necessity for urban renewal and so on. A few of you may join the Peace Corps and do some constructive and difficult work in the underdeveloped countries. A few of you will be engaged actively in the effort to put into deeds the magnificent words of our Constitutional Bill of Rights. Most of you will become citizens whose contact with these issues and projects will not be so direct and frequent.

But all of you, as all of us, are involved in these and the other great issues of our time. Please don't lose your idealism and conviction that the hard questions of our troubled world can be solved. It just may be that it is your generation that will have the final rendezvous with the destiny of western civilization. It well may be that upon what you and your generation does will rest the future of whether the world itself explodes. Certainly idealism is a youthful and positive power, and while the perfect is never attained, the fact that there are people everywhere willing to reach for it may be the only tie that will hold mankind together.

State Colleges and the Youth Revolution

Address, Annual Winter Meeting of the California Press Association San Francisco, California December 6, 1968

Ladies and Gentlemen:

It is a privilege and honor to address the members of this influential association on the subject of State Colleges and the Youth Revolution. Undoubtedly you already know most of the facts. You have printed them in the news and you have editorialized about them, but I hope there may be some value in my telling you how some of the things look from inside the barricades.

If I were assigned this subject at any time during my chairmanship of the Board of Trustees, or for three years thereafter, I would have been hard put to make an introduction, let alone a speech. The Youth Revolution, or at least the violent manifestations of it, did not reach the colleges until last year.

And certainly there is no experience in my own college days to prepare me, or any of my fellow trustees, for the kind of problem we face. When I was at Berkeley during the affluent days of the late 1920's, we had our share of student spirit and restlessness, but it had little in the way of social or political implications. Once when the Zeppelin Hindenburg was flying westward and due to arrive in the San Francisco area, the students telephoned all of the fraternity houses and asked them, in the name of the university administration, to send all possible men to the campanile area by midnight because they needed extra manpower to anchor the Zeppelin against the campanile. It was a sharp, cold night, and almost 2,000 stalwarts were present and able and ready as they looked skyward to the Zeppelin that never came, and was never destined to come, because the whole idea was a happy fraud. The Raspberry Press was the underground newspaper, which was printed one year and usually suspended the next. When one of its columns, through ignorance more than intent, referred to a boyfriend as a paramour of a prominent campus young lady, the paper and the writer were promptly suspended; two years later the paper printed an article stating that an administrative officer had sold the university a piece of land at an excessive price — it was suspended again. A rather attractive young woman led a good part of the football team to her bedroom and caused a paternity scandal that was never fully resolved.

But, by and large, it was an era of simple conformity; the athletic tradition was dominant (one won his Big C in competition, not in confrontation), and whatever revolutionary activity occurred was personal

in the self-development of the student when he first encountered as a sophomore the problems and alternatives of philosophy. For almost 40 years since, college generations have come and gone to face the grim realities of major wars, but none to exhibit violence or mass protest. For a time goldfish swallowing was a diversion for male students who desired to make an odd name for themselves. The 50's were the period of the silent generation, but the silence was broken in the springtime during the period of the panty raids, about which Freud might have had some interesting comments.

None of these phenomena led to the events of the 60's. The free-speech movement in 1964 at Berkeley was probably the beginning of the various student movements. Since that time, there is hardly a region in the United States or a country in Western Europe which has not been affected by student unrest, by riots, seizure of buildings, and so on. And students have risen even behind the Iron Curtain. Indeed, when the university students in Prague rose against the Soviet troops, we cheered; whether one approves of student uprisings sometimes depends on whose ox is being gored. This last fall I visited the education ministries in London, in Paris, and in Italy; all were contending with activist groups; and although there were small, hard-core contingents trying to pull down the establishment, the grievances were mostly of a nature which our colleges and universities had anticipated as early as 1930 — they concerned the broadening of admissions, giving more frequent lectures, keeping office hours for students, requiring professors to be less remote and authoritarian toward students.

For a time we were hopeful that our state colleges might avoid most of the unrest and violent activity. Our professors met with their classes in relatively small sections (state colleges are built without extensive auditorium facilities); there are few teaching assistants; the student has frequent class and other contacts with his professors. Our students could not contend as justly as students in several of the multiversities that they were being neglected or left out in the cold of the academy. But we were to find that we were not immune; within the past two years the troubles of the outside world have penetrated our campuses, and the Vietnamese war, the draft, the nuclear weapons, the recruitment of personnel by military and industry related to the military, the poverty problem, the racial question and the urban crisis have developed familiar issues on state college campuses as well as others more specifically concerned with the educational process. Yet, in the 1967-68 year there were very few instances on the eighteen campuses involving violence, and practically none resulted in the disruption of any classroom activity. There were actual confrontations at San Francisco State College, principally concerned with the continuation of the ROTC and minority admissions; at Los Angeles State College over Dow

recruiting; at San Jose State College over racial matters; and at Long Beach State College over the censorship of a proposed art exhibit. In the fall term there was an effort to force the settlement of a minority grievance by seizing administrative staff as hostages at San Fernando State College, an effort that failed. And, of course, the events at San Francisco State College during the past few weeks have brought all these problems in the state colleges to a focus, and the manner in which they can be handled and settled will be crucial, not only to the state colleges but to higher education throughout the country. This is more critical than Columbia.

Before analyzing the character and scope of student unrest in the state colleges, I would like to call attention to the obvious which we tend to forget in moments of crisis. Yet it is important always to keep the matter in mind. I refer to the fact that the vast majority of students in our colleges are serious and law-abiding, and desirous mainly of meeting with their professors and instructors and obtaining a higher education. Our eighteen operating colleges enroll close to 170,000 students, and the numbers involved in disruption are fractional. It has been estimated by administrative personnel that the hard-core disrupters at San Francisco State College number from 70 to 100 students, and that there is a marginal group of disrupters who can be stimulated into action of from 300 to 500. Thus, the hard-core disrupters constitute about one-half percent of the total student population and their activist supporters less than five percent. But such a number, when even loosely organized, can cause a great deal of difficulty and can gather a larger following by exploiting a carefully selected issue.

What about the great silent majority? For the most part that is what it is. Perhaps the most disappointing aspect of the situation is that the great mass of students desires to avoid involvement. Often you will find some of them on the outskirts of the crowd; they will hear the militants and they will criticize them; they will say that they don't like riots, but that they want to be neutral. Student public opinion in the colleges has had no appreciable influence on curbing campus violence; still there are evidences that this condition is changing for the better. A sizable number, perhaps up to ten percent, have been willing to speak out and give visible support to their commitment to keep the college open.

The second general observation is that this neutrality is still tinged with a certain bias against the authority of older generations. In any confrontation between their contemporaries and authority, most of them do not want to identify themselves with authority.

In the third place, of the remaining students there is a substantial number of non-violent students who are committed to social reform.

They want to help in the slums, they were part of the civil rights movement, they joined the Peace Corps. Some of these students are in student government and are seeking to give that government a greater relationship to the community outside of the college than heretofore has ever been the case. These students are usually majors in the humanities, sociology, psychology, the arts — where differences of opinion are traditional and no one can be certain whether the other is right or wrong. A small portion of these socially conscious students can be drawn to the side of militancy whenever an issue of social justice is tied to some campus protest.

And their numbers will swell, even to inclusion of many of the neutrals into a formidable mass, if they believe, or are led to believe, that the police are using unnecessary force to control a demonstration. Then the campus takes on the appearance of a battleground.

With these considerations in mind let us consider three minority groups of students. The first is the hippie contingent. They will be more visible in an urban college than in a rural-suburban college. Naturally a college located close to the Haight-Ashbury district will reflect some of the Haight-Ashbury look. But hippies are not revolutionaries; they are escapists. They reject the violent world and whether they go to pot or not, they hardly touch the community around them. They want to love everybody and sometimes do. The more intellectual bury themselves in Indian philosophy and Eastern mysticism; they are forever trying to find themselves under the mop of hair and the cake of dirt. They have caused to be included some perfectly valid courses in the non-credit student experimental school. They are, for all their psychedelic buoyancy, rather pathetic. They have given up too much and found too little.

The second minority group consists of the hard-core militants previously referred to. These are the destroyers. They are the students who are convinced that western society is so corrupt that it must be liquidated. They do not believe in its values. They have not indicated what values they do believe in or what political or economic structure should replace what we have. They take the position that substituting "nothing" is better than the existing system; they are anarchists, and we have our share of them. It is reported that most of these students are members of the Students for a Democratic Society, although all members of this organization cannot be characterized as equally militant or as willing to employ the same disruptive tactics. The attack of these militants upon the college is only a part of their struggle with society; they simply use the college because it is available, and to them vulnerable. Thus, if the issue of military recruitment is decided against them they will proceed to support a racial issue, and if that wears thin they will tie themselves to some issue of campus governance, whether it

be student rights or faculty rights. Their goal is achieved so long as they can keep the pot boiling and occasionally drop an administrator into it.

Moreover, their tactics match their purpose. They will seize an administration building if that act is likely to paralyze the campus. They will hold a mill-in to block normal access to a building or its facilities, or overuse the library or overextend the information services by making superfluous requests, if any of these devices will bring the college administration to a halt. They will raise a din with drums and cymbals outside or inside a classroom building, or enter a classroom and threaten or intimidate those continuing in class, if that will cause a cessation of instruction. They will hope that all this disruptive conduct will bring overreaction and repression so that if they are dragged out, battered and bloodied, in police vans, the rest of the students will, in anger and in outrage, close down the campus. This is classic Mao Tse-tung — "the tactics of the flea"; this is guerilla warfare; this is insurrection, if not revolution.

The third minority consists of the dissident ethnic groups made up of the Black Students Union and the Third World Liberation Front. The BSU has been the leader in this field, but the Third World, especially the Latin American element, is attempting to emulate and surpass it, at least in the scope of their demands. The number of members of the BSU is not known; there are an estimated eight hundred black students attending the college, about one hundred more than last year. The BSU membership ranges from moderate to almost militant to clearly militant. Recently the militants have come into control. They have issued ten demands which they have stated to be non-negotiable. One of these directs dismissal of an experienced administrative official; the other requires the reinstatement of a black part-time instructor who has been suspended, subject to a hearing on charges of unprofessional conduct. The basic demands concern the establishment of a black studies program to be in charge of a specified black professor (he is to be promoted to the position); the faculty will be selected by the black students; the department will have sole control over its admissions, in such number as it deems advisable; it will determine its curriculum and include therein 22 courses on Afro-American subjects now given in various departments; it will teach only black students. There are or will be courses on African politics and culture, slavery, the history of blacks in the United States, cultural, social, athletic and other contributions of blacks, courses in Swahili, black ego, black political science, black psychology, sociology courses dealing with ghetto problems, education courses oriented for the instruction of the blacks, and other courses, all designed to fit the black experience and to relate to it.

The rationale of this program seems to be threefold:

1. Blacks at present are handicapped in competing with whites in subjects which reflect the values and interests of the white majority and for which the whites have had appropriate preparatory training denied to the blacks.
2. Blacks require an opportunity to discover for themselves their own identity and dignity as a people, which they cannot do in the presence of whites.
3. Blacks can only achieve their purpose by themselves, with soul brothers that they can trust and with whites excluded, because only blacks know and understand the problems of blackness and of the ghetto from which they have come.

It appears that the black students believe desperately in this program; they feel that their very survival depends on it; otherwise they will be only black shadows of a white culture.

The program can be criticized from many angles. It proposes to establish an independent enclave in the college which, through uncontrolled growth, ultimately could engulf the college or certainly deny many qualified whites the opportunity to attend. It is predicated on a theory of cultural apartheid; it seems contrary to all of the objectives of the civil rights program and of the 1954 desegregation decision of the United States Supreme Court. It seems to deny the validity of efforts toward integration in the elementary and secondary schools when it calls for segregation in the college. It appears to insist upon a proliferation of curriculum that goes far beyond remedying prior injustices and distortions in the presentation of subject matter. It seems destined to create its own mythology predicated on its own racial bias.

The general faculty has been concerned that the selection of professors and subjects and students is to be dealt with outside of normal academic process and standards.

And, finally, there is deep concern that since the demands have been made in terms of black power, that black power itself is the actual end, and that such power will be used against the college that created it.

All of these warnings should be heeded. But also we must listen to the underlying problem of the grievance; until the high schools can do a more complete job, the college must devise and accelerate educational opportunities for the blacks to find themselves and to adjust to American society. I will refer to a possible approach to the solution during my final remarks.

The black students are remarkably disciplined in the state colleges — for action or restraint, as their student leaders require. Ordinarily they prefer not to join with the radical whites in achieving their aims. They welcome and accept support but they do not wish to be compromised by it. Their extreme militants are as noisy and as difficult to deal with as

the leaders of the other radical groups, but we must always keep in mind that their constituency can be more moderate. At this point it is hard to say whether their objective is revolutionary or not. In one sense it seems to be a retrogression to segregation; in another it may be a forward step to the attainment of equality and the subsequent adjustment as equals in American society. If the majority of blacks are anxious for speedy reform which will give them a voice politically and a larger stake in our society, then the purpose is not revolutionary.

The Third World demands are somewhat similar to those of the BSU, but they just further illustrate the impossible predicament the college would find itself in if it attempted to fragmentize cultural contributions into tailormade courses for each ethnic group and to admit an unlimited number of students on an ethnic basis, regardless of qualification.

The demand for a reformation of curriculum is broader than minority interests. On many campuses we hear the demands of the students that they have a voice in the determination of curriculum. They want courses that they consider to be "relevant" to their needs and interests in social change and reform. This means extended field work in slum areas, in probation work, in relating to law enforcement, and so on. Also, psychology and other courses should be made more "personal" in their orientation. To a certain degree this procedure is merely an extension of the field concept of teaching. Generally, with respect to the curriculum, a balance is required, and some reform of general education requirements which may exclude irrelevancies is probably in order. Actually, between riots, San Francisco State has been reviewing its general education requirements in the interests of adjusting to student needs.

A word should be said about the subject of violence. An institute of Brandeis University and other reports have come to the conclusion that violence has been a part of American life and at times has been necessary to purge society of its inertia and to bring about necessary reforms. To this I suggest one answer: a college system owes it to its supporters to be sufficiently ahead of its ills and grievances and thus to anticipate the need for changes in its curriculum and its procedures. There is no justification for an institution which has all day to talk, to consider, to discuss, to analyze, to propose and to decide, to argue that reform of its operations must await violence. At the same time, while the ills of society may affect the campus climate, the college cannot be made responsible for solving these ills, and no one is justified in bringing violence to the campus to compel it to perform a mission impossible. There is a conscious effort by extremists to make the campus the first target in their assault against society and, by reason of its physical setup and spiritual heritage, it is peculiarly vulnerable. Indeed, to the extent violence enters the citadel of reason, the college loses its function

and identity, and when a college falls democracy loses a primary bastion.

Violence is inexcusable in a college community which provides opportunity for petition, discussion, dissent and change.

There are, of course, other areas of apparent revolt in the state colleges which affect a much larger number of students than the militants. These concern the mores and conventions or unconventions of the times.

Dress and appearance vary, depending on whether a college is an urban center. In general the Valley colleges and rural-suburban colleges are almost square, but in the urban colleges many of the students look as if they came out of a Central European village in about 1902. This is the cult of the ugly defying the cult of the beautiful, as represented by Miss America, Miss Potato Chips, and whatever current sprite is happening to transmit Dodge fever. Youth is consciously protesting our preoccupation with material things; they think that we are false disciples of Mr. Clean — clean enough on the outside but can't stand an X-ray.

Of course, there is and always has been a generation gap. But in the past the gap has been due usually to the parents holding their children to a standard of conduct which was much higher than could be expected from their own performance. The present generation gap is created largely by the young who expect their parents to conduct themselves on a plane much higher than could ever be expected from the children's performance.

I have no idea regarding sexual morality in the state colleges other than that which appears in the daily newspapers, and you know how reliable they are. The percentage of married students in the state colleges is higher than in most campuses throughout the country; I assume that this is a stabilizing factor, at least for purposes of statistics. In any event, when even the *Ladies Home Journal* removes every aspect of mystery from the subject, there is no longer much to talk about.

Pornography is more troublesome. But if the purpose of the words or the picture is to shock the Establishment, I think it has failed; we are already numb. Nothing shown in any college matches the movies which are advertised every day and which portray about everything that could interest the graduate or the undergraduate. When the community accepts the topless and the bottomless, the college has little to invent. I will say that, by and large, the dramatic performances of the state colleges have been of a very high cultural order, as they should be, with very few evidences of bad taste or poor judgment, although these have occurred. Occasionally there is an art exhibit which is shocking to some, one of which the Chancellor deferred indefinitely, but in a test legal case, it is always a question if it would "arouse the purient interest" to

reach (or descend to) the level of illegality. We are aware that the prudent interest of a college dependent on public funds must be aroused at a much earlier point.

I am not trying to be flippant about these concerns of morals or mores. I know what is being said about our decade and the Roman Empire of the second century; these were the laxities which produced the decline and fall. As trustees we do what we can to insist that the colleges conduct their public activities on a level to bring credit and respect to the institution, but we can always expect that, in the maintenance of a spirit of free inquiry, they will always do something to shock or worry a segment of the community; the incident later may prove a plus or minus, but thus it is that an educational institution can experiment and respond to the challenge of new forms and ideas.

Cutting across and feeding student unrest in the state colleges is faculty unrest. This is a unique feature of the problem of the state colleges and so important to the understanding of the student problem and to the whole crisis that I should like to outline it against a brief history of the state colleges as a whole.

The system is quite new as an entity and was established by the Legislature under the Donahoe Act of 1960, and became operative July 1 of the following year. Previously the thirteen colleges (now eighteen) so coordinated were under a loose type of supervision of the State Department of Education, but they functioned as fairly independent duchies, bringing their own budgetary requests and respective political pressures directly to the Governor and Legislature. Some of these schools were as old or older than Berkeley; most preceded the branches of the University of California. Thus forming them into a federated system represented a kind of ingathering to a newly created center, while the University branched outwardly from a single institution. Both systems have been faced with demands for decentralization which, to a considerable extent, have been met, but the pressure for independence by the colleges derives a greater force from tradition than that of the University branches.

The majority of these colleges originated as normal schools for the training of elementary and secondary school teachers. Then they became four-year liberal arts colleges for all kinds of students, and particularly during the trustee period since 1961 have become broad undergraduate and graduate schools, except that by law the state colleges cannot enter the fields of law, medicine, veterinary medicine and graduate architecture reserved to the University in order to avoid unnecessary and expensive duplication. Nor can they give the doctorate except with the cooperation and consent of the University of California. They are authorized to perform research related to instruction (which is not "pure" research), but even this research function has received very

little monetary support from the Legislature. It was never intended by the Donahoe Act to limit the state colleges to undergraduate programs; indeed the colleges already offered master's degrees in 1961 and several of them wanted to be empowered to issue the doctorate. Certainly it would have been a waste of plant and professional resources to exclude graduate courses from the state colleges, and to have done so would have placed an impossible burden on the graduate division of the University. At present there is good reason to authorize certain of the state colleges to grant a doctorate, particularly in the professional education-teaching field.

Even without the features reserved to the University, the scope of these college operations is enormous. Many of these colleges, by every modern test, qualify as universities and compare in quality with long-established universities in other states. The enrollment has more than doubled during the period of trustee control; admissions have been held to the upper one-third of high school graduates as set forth in the Master Plan with exceptions to be noted; over $300,000,000 have been invested in buildings on new and expanded campuses; campuses have been transformed from drab conformity to exciting places under a policy which causes public architects and private architects to engage in healthy competition; academic salaries are slowly approaching the level of those at the University of California, but not at a rate fast enough to satisfy the faculty; local faculty academic senates function on all campuses to advise the presidents; a statewide faculty senate functions alongside the Chancellor and the trustees to advise them on educational policy, budget and professional matters; the presidents themselves sit with the Chancellor and trustees to advise on matters concerning them; the student body presidents' organization is also represented at trustee meetings to speak on questions affecting students; indeed, officials of the American Association of University Professors have remarked that, whatever its deficiencies and shortcomings, the state college system is in the vanguard throughout the United States in affording participation to faculty and students in the formulation of policy, and the administration and faculty of the colleges have greatly enlarged the participation of students on faculty and administrative committees on the various campuses. The system has grown to 170,000 students and graduates most of the men and women who will operate the businesses, the agriculture, the teaching, the government services and perform much of the executive work of the State of California for the next 25 to 50 years. This is the system at stake; this is the system in jeopardy and in peril, and only partly by reason of the present student disruption.

Why is this so? Why, when a system seems to be moving forward so rapidly, is there such unrest and concern about the future of the state colleges? I suggest that there are several causes.

First, the institutions, particularly the older ones, have never been reconciled to being a part of the system. They want financial, moral and public support from the center but not policy control and certainly not anything they consider to be administrative control. They want to preserve their institutional integrity against all intrusions, real or fancied.

Second, they are disappointed at the rate of change in their own management. Even though the Department of Finance has relaxed a great number of controls on the Chancellor's Office, which has satisfied the Department as to its responsibility, and the Chancellor has transferred some of this flexibility to the colleges, they don't consider that the Chancellor's Office passes discretion on to them quickly enough.

Third, the faculty feel that they are second-class citizens, compared with the professors of the University of California. Their teaching load is higher; their salaries are lower; most of their accumulated sabbatical leaves are unfunded; they receive practically no released time or compensation for research. Much of their position is justified. But they rarely refer to the hard efforts being made by the central administration in all these respects to improve their lot or to any of the many successes — the procurement of special grants for creative leaves, substantial travel allowances for recruiting, the funding of current sabbatical leaves and a greatly expanded library purchase program. And they do not speak about other advantages that they enjoy: of the absence of the publish-or-perish requirement; of tenure which they can achieve in four years instead of seven or eight, compared with the University; of the automatic in-step raises (within their classification of professor, associate or assistant professor) instead of salary raises based on merit. And they do not concede that they do very well compared with the professors of eighteen comparative institutions throughout the United States which have been established by the Legislature as sister institutions and which are of a very high quality, thirteen of which are in the top one hundred Ph.D. granting institutions in the country.

Fourth, the spokesmen of some faculty membership organizations interested in governance claim that trustees and administrators are usurping authority that should be the faculty's; they are of the view that, in effect, the Chancellor and the presidents should be the executive secretaries of the organized faculty; that the trustees should be their public relations front to procure the programs they determine to be required. The trustees should rarely, if ever, change a policy recommended by the Statewide Academic Senate, whether or not it deals with strictly educational matters. They concede that the trustees have the legal powers and responsibilities of governance, but insist that the only practical way to exercise their authority is to delegate it to the faculty.

Finally, they consider that they have inherited, in some way, the right to determine all important matters of administrative process. The trustees have gone far, perhaps too far, to accommodate this feeling. All recent presidents have been appointed after preliminary screening and recommendations by campus faculty committees. The participation of these faculty committees in presidential selection has few counterparts in institutions of higher learning in the United States. But let there be a single departure from this voluntary procedure, even to effect the appointment of an *acting* president at a time of dire emergency, and there will be faculty claims of foul play. Thus recently when the president of San Francisco State College resigned and the college faced the immediate prospect of anarchy, it was considered by certain spokesmen, presumably speaking for the faculty, to be unforgivable that the trustees should appoint an acting captain to steer a floundering ship without going through the details of the usual consultative process.

We are hopeful that in the present crisis at San Francisco State College the total faculty will see the larger issue — that the preservation of their great institution is the first priority; that a state of emergency cannot be a permanent state; that order and freedom are not necessarily enemies but can be friends; that there can be no academic process or due process worthy of the name in an environment heavy with harassment and intimidation.

I have dealt with this matter at more than ordinary length because the discontent of a number of faculty, justified or not, and their public opposition to the established concepts of governance have set a pattern for students and aggravated student unrest.

These then are some of the problems of the state colleges and the youth revolution. How can they be resolved? Or perhaps I should say can they be resolved? I believe not merely that they can be, they *must be*, not only in the interest of preserving quality higher education in California, but in the interest of preserving democracy in our country. My proposals (which are personal) are as follows:

1. The college and trustees should meet the grievances of the blacks and Third World students in an academically acceptable way. This could mean setting up a special school of ethnic studies, including a Department of Black Studies, under a competent administrator, who might very well be black. Certain courses, especially of an orientation nature in the lower division field, might be limited to the ethnic group involved if found academically desirable. The other undergraduate and graduate courses would be open to all students, regardless of race, since ultimately knowledge is truth which should be available to all, and there can be no understanding among races without shared study or other experience. This suggestion, whether too narrow or too broad, is not to

be taken as a proposal, but represents an approach; we must start somewhere. In this connection two points must be emphasized:

i. the organization of the curriculum is primarily a college matter concerning which the trustees have been furnished with no definitive report or proposal; this will be necessary in order to obtain special funds; and

ii. the only proposal on minority studies ever presented by San Francisco State to the trustees, a degree program in Afro-American studies to begin in the fall of 1969, was approved by the trustees two months ago on the day received. (Today we have learned that Dr. Hayakawa, the Acting President of San Francisco State, has announced the organization of a School of Ethnic Studies and a Black Studies Department with an initial complement of positions, the Department to be administered by a black professor.)

2. At present the colleges are permitted to except four percent of their admissions from the usual requirements. This quota should be supplemented by an additional percentage or possibly more if there is a greater indication that potentially able students have applied. The selection committees must be in a position to exercise an honest and impartial judgment.

3. The right of students to dissent must be fully protected; no right to disrupt can be recognized. Prompt and fair due process hearings must be granted before final discipline is imposed, but preliminary suspensions must be imposed where necessary to protect classroom activities from disruption.

4. Whatever the procedure of bringing charges, the faculty should be the primary judges of the conduct of their own profession in faculty disciplinary proceedings. And such a program must be based on the principle that academic due process does not require complex and interminable procedures. Faculty instigators or supporters of student violence — and these represent rare instances — must be severely disciplined; the general and organized faculty have never stated otherwise.

5. The moderate students of the colleges should be encouraged by their own leadership, and by administration and faculty, to insist upon their right to an education and to become involved in protecting their right. I do feel, however, that a full attendance at classes, notwithstanding the turmoil around them, evidences more than a neutral stand; it does demonstrate a willingness to be involved. An increasing number of the silent have become vocal and active in defending their right to an education at San Francisco State College.

6. This is not the place to discuss general faculty problems. These should be dealt with carefully and deliberately but not coincident with the crisis involving student violence.

7. The system should make a clear delineation of authority between the central office and each college. The trustees should issue a charter to each college setting forth the area of its self-governance. Serious consideration should be given to the creation of a new governing council for each college which would declare local policy within the chartered area. The councils could include lay members and representatives of students and faculty. They could transform or succeed the current advisory boards and relate the college more closely to the community than is possible in the case solely of a state board of trustees.

8. The Legislature should finance higher educational needs, but it may prove necessary for higher education to restructure itself to deal with the 20th century problems of mass education; this will probably mean more assigned work outside the classroom, less lectures and more reading; fewer professors per capita but better paid; greater allocation of lower division admissions to the junior colleges; and the development of curriculum programs that are more responsive to the needs and concerns of the students.

9. There should be a re-evaluation of the objectives of higher education which would recognize that the college has an affirmative obligation to develop citizenship and, by example or otherwise, raise the cultural level and taste; that it has great constructive responsibilities regarding American society as well as the critical function.

It is admitted that none of the foregoing will be effective unless the various segments of the college enterprise exercise self-discipline: the trustees and the Chancellor in avoiding the pitfalls of unnecessary intervention in local campus affairs and understanding that education is primarily a matter for faculty and students; the faculty in cooperating with the governance of a campus so that administrative leadership and responsibility are recognized, and that every issue does not become a potential referendum and governance a perpetual town meeting; the students in limiting their demands to the possible and their tactics to the reformist as distinguished from the revolutionary.

And the mass media can help materially in not making martyrs of militants; by giving fair space for quotation from the voices of governance as well as those of dissent; by reporting with some enthusiasm achievements as well as deficiencies; by showing peace on the campus as well as depicting the passing of the ammunition.

We must all cooperate to isolate and exclude the few revolutionists, but unless all segments of college governance are prepared to draw back within the lines of reason, the winter will be long, the struggle will weaken all the participants, and the lights of freedom, through a program of repression as the only alternative, will go out, one by one, throughout the land.

There Once Was a College at Camelot

Commencement Address
California State College at San Bernardino
June 13, 1969

Mr. President, members of the graduating class and friends:

I am honored to have been invited by your distinguished president to deliver the commencement address today at California State College at San Bernardino. I am particularly conscious of the fact that yours is the first four-year graduating class to receive its bachelor degrees from this college; moreover you have had the unique experience of being part of a four-year college generation which has attended college during the most tumultuous period of student unrest in higher education in all of American history. You may have seen the picture of the graduate — 1969 — in the newspaper and another in a leading periodical; the first shows a young man in academic robes, but wearing a crash helmet instead of a mortar board, and the second, another young man in academic regalia, but wearing a gas mask instead of a smile.

I know that you have been spared, or you have spared yourselves with the help of an alert faculty, the confrontations that have torn apart other campuses in and out of the state, but I also have reason to believe that you have been troubled by many of the same issues that have disturbed them though you have dealt with these questions in a more restrained and responsible manner. Particularly because you have kept your cool, I would like today to consider with you and with the entire college community, the crisis in American higher education which threatens not only education but all of our society. It will either be accommodated and controlled, or it will engulf us all.

With the outward manifestations of this crisis we are all familiar. Over our television screens the police seem to be engaged in an endless pursuit of students who are throwing rocks and yelling pig, and live violence on the campus has replaced, to some considerable extent, the staged violence of the westerns and the mysteries. The most current issue is again at Berkeley, where an odd combination of action, reaction and publicity has given to a wire fence the symbolism (certainly not warranted) of the Berlin Wall.

All kinds of theories have been evolved to explain the student unrest. One is that parents generally have been too permissive and that if junior had been spanked at the right time and place, he would be a well-behaved and orderly undergraduate. But youth brought up strictly tends to rebel as much or more than those held with a lighter rein. Be that as it may, the causes of student unrest are usually described in

terms of the social forces that surround them and not ascribed to their bringing up.

You are more aware of these matters than I am. There is the war in Vietnam which so many students consider unnecessary and unjust and which colors student attitudes toward the draft and the military; and the uncertainty of survival in a world threatened with nuclear missiles and biological warfare; and the racial ghettos, which, in a time of rising expectations, spawn so much discontent and demand for instant solution, partly through college and university leadership; there is the view of many students that the affluent society is too materialistic in purpose and practice to deserve to continue; that the older generation has betrayed its own ideals; that the young can trust only the young and therefore, on the campus and elsewhere, must have a decisive voice in controlling matters affecting their own lives and destiny. The extreme militants on the campuses roll up all these elements of discontent into one ball of wax and contend that student power must take over the higher educational system which is the fountainhead (they say) of society's corruption, and use the university and the college, in some unspecified way, to achieve the just society. They shout that the present system must be destroyed.

As you know, the number of these revolutionaries or anarchists is small and, relying on themselves alone, they could not accomplish much disruption. But whenever they can tie some local issue on campus to one of the large general causes for discontent, they can attract the support of a large number of idealistic and moderate students and in a matter of hours or days present the campus with a more or less violent confrontation. If the reaction of authority is excessive, there will be anguished cries from students and faculty that academic freedom is being trampled. If authority yields or compromises, there are many in government and the citizenry who will criticize the resolution of the issue as spineless surrender. No wonder that there are 300 presidential vacancies in colleges and universities throughout the country.

The cause for alarm is not the exercise of youth's right to protest or to propose political programs or to advocate reforms in college administration — it is rather the methods which youth has used to protest or to urge the changes, and it is the frequency with which revolutionary militants have been able to lead moderates to employ or support such methods.

I should like, in an effort to be constructive, to make a few observations. In struggling with their problems our universities and colleges in many instances (not here) have appeared to have lost their own sense of academic purpose and have abandoned their academic tradition. It seems to me that the first order of business for higher education is to

determine the principles upon which it must stand against any attacks by students or by forces from inside or outside of the campus.

What are the college's obligations to itself? What are the conditions that make a university or college?

First, it is a temple of *Reason*. But lately the temple repeatedly has been desecrated. What chance has reason in a mob? When one cannot discuss but must shout orders through a bull horn? When one thousand faculty are herded into an auditorium to debate publicly a complex issue and take a vote on a detailed resolution read for the first time over a loudspeaker, and after the faculty have filed into their auditorium through an aisle between jeering and cheering students? No important decision by an academic deliberative body should be made under such circumstances.

Second, *Objectivity*. In the classroom it is always assumed that all aspects of a controversial question will be explored. Recently, in a political science classroom in one of the state colleges, a group of students sought to prevent the lecturer, an eminent political scientist, from beginning his course of instruction because they disapproved of his critical (though basically sympathetic) views on a pending black studies program. The students (all or most of them white) clapped their hands and made all kinds of noises so that he was unable to give his lecture and finally had to abandon it. Ultimately arrests were made, and two days later the course proceeded. But these students, in their disruptive conduct, broke a sacred tenet of academic freedom — the right and duty to pursue the truth objectively.

Third, *Scepticism*. One of the major principles of the scientific method is to maintain a certain detachment and scepticism in examining theories or alleged facts or asserted truths.

The final decision regarding ethnic studies programs — whether they are to be genuinely creative and honest approaches to the subject matter or whether they are to be synthetic and tailormade to outside pressures and be part of a system of indoctrination — will depend on whether the college will be able to preserve its right to be sceptical.

Fourth, *Intellectual Discipline*. The earliest universities limited their instruction to the professions: in those days only law, medicine and divinity. While the curricula have greatly expanded, the principle of higher education, that a student learns through disciplined study, remains. In the end the student learns by "hitting the books," burning the midnight oil, and thinking through a problem. But there are those in the student activist camp who would substitute a perpetual bull session for the individual and lonely effort that is essential to the art of thinking. The bull session has always had, and always will have, an important place in a student's education, but it cannot replace the requirements of disciplined study, no matter what guise it takes.

Fifth, *Experimentation*. The college and university must be receptive to new ideas in both subjects and procedures. Revolutionary ideas are no exception provided that they are subject to the same analysis as any other.

Finally, of course, the college and university are places for imparting certain knowledge and skills. Nowhere is this function clearer than in the scientific fields where the subject matter can be reduced to more precise terms, formulas and conditions. Nowhere is this function more difficult than in the social sciences which deal so much with the uncertain and unpredictable in human relations. The important element in all fields is that facts, laws, theories and hypotheses must be clearly distinguished and that propaganda must not be palmed off under any false title.

Now I have reviewed these various principles of the academic tradition — reason, objectivity, skepticism, intellectual disciplines, experimentation, and the imparting of knowledge — for a specific reason. It is my view that in meeting the current crisis in higher education, all segments of the college and the university must agree that these principles will be held inviolate. No matter what the problem or the confrontation, these principles must be adhered to and a firm stand taken thereon. If they are surrendered or compromised there can be no college or university as it has come down to us after 1,000 years of development. And if the hard core advocates of anarchy can't attend college acceding to these principles, if they try by force to cause the university to give up any of them, they actively seek to destroy the very foundations of the university; they must be compelled to leave.

Does this mean that we must be dedicated to perpetuation of the status quo? Not at all. There is plenty of flexibility within these principles to adjust to modern needs.

Students want to participate more significantly in determining certain phases of their academic life. They should be given such an opportunity. I do not believe that they should hire and fire their professors or that they should determine course content because I cannot see how, in advance of their education and without the special knowledge of the field, they can be competent to make these judgments. But students are extraordinarily well equipped to evaluate the teaching performance of their instructors, and throughout the United States their official evaluation publications have been of a high order. Occasionally they have conceded too much to the popular or been influenced by personality, but by and large they have been a good guide. The faculty should welcome this assistance in evaluation for purposes of reappointment, promotion and tenure. In most of the state colleges, including this one, students have been represented on a multitude of faculty committees. You know student interests; you know whether needless repetition may occur in

the curriculum; you are able to propose new courses of study; you can be of considerable aid in these matters and you should have a participatory and effective voice.

You should be the principal authors of codes of student conduct and behavior; most certainly you should be well represented in adjudicating violations of that conduct. It may be helpful for students to participate in the selection of a new college president through a membership on the Governing Board's Selection Committee of whatever university or college is concerned. Students should be given wide discretion in the administration of their own money and affairs, subject to the requirement of providing for sound fiscal procedures.

Many students ask for more relevancy in teaching. They want courses to be more pertinent to their needs and personal interests and to social change and reform. But this is a tricky topic.

A student wrote me recently: "How can a black student be interested in studying eighteenth century literature when he sees the injustices his race suffers?" In reply I noted that the eighteenth century was the Age of Reason and its literature, certainly that with a political orientation, is the foundation of all the rights American citizens, including black students, now claim. The Constitution was a product of it. It is the teacher's job to find and demonstrate relevance. But all knowledge cannot and should not be made personally relevant. There is a catholicity to a liberal education that has always provided a special dimension of its own; the world would be very limited if only that part which is directly relevant to each student were made part of his education.

Students want more innovation in curriculum. They should have it; this is entirely consistent with the academic tradition. But, again, a word of qualification is in order. Everything new is not true just because it is new. When the new competes with the old in the forum of ideas and wins, you have change and evolution in a stable society; when it pushes the old aside by brute strength, you have revolution; when the old suppresses the new, merely because it is new, you have tyranny.

A number of students have suggested that grades be abolished. A lead article in a current national magazine supports this view and contends: "Grades are the glue that holds an obsolete contraption called college together" and suggests that graduation be abandoned in favor of a spring festival in which each student will do his own thing and presumably be crowned with a garland of flowers. I can see some value in reducing the number of tests and grades, but I doubt whether the total elimination of grades would be realistic or wise. In one way or another you are being graded all your life: whether you are a baseball player hitting .300, or an opera star hitting high C, or a school teacher teaching her class, or a lawyer, doctor, junior executive or public official. Someone outside of yourself is evaluating your performance

and rewarding you or withdrawing confidence. You may as well accept a value system in college. As for the ritual of commencement, I think graduation is a cause for celebration, although it could do without the commencement speaker.

Many students desire greater dialogue with the Establishment and I believe you are right. We should listen more to you and you to us, but the Establishment has not been able to communicate very well such experience and wisdom as it may have to the students. Parents and grandparents are regarded, at best, as well-meaning but out of it. The result seems to be that many students, clear through graduation, lack any significant sense of the impact of recent history.

If they listen, and they should listen, they might find that the Establishment had its own problems and, on the whole, came through with not too bad a record. Twice in this century Americans have rescued western civilization from authoritarian control. Indeed, if Nazi Germany had won World War II and its ideas inevitably spread over this continent, there would be little likelihood today that any student protest, let alone mass action, would be permitted on any campus; the dissidents would simply have been shot.

In the 1930's, almost one-fifth of our population was unemployed as the result of the deep economic depression, and the Establishment generation, through a series of extraordinary reforms — in social security, in controlling financial transactions, in providing workable relations for management and labor — laid the foundations for a relatively stable and viable economy. After World War II, when hunger stalked other lands, we gave freely of our substance and, under the Marshall Plan, literally revived a large part of the world. Since then an enormous, though still inadequate effort, has been made to rectify the injustices of 300 years inflicted upon the black citizens of the United States, primarily by our ancestors or by strangers. In this enterprise the young of the country have been most helpful, but the sins of the fathers of twelve to sixteen generations cannot be wiped out in a day. And, in the meantime, the Establishment also has taxed and bonded itself to very high limits in order that all youth can attend school and be given the opportunity that should be theirs for a higher education. Many of us cannot leave food on our plates because during the Depression and our war experiences we have seen starvation at firsthand and know the meaning of food. Most of us hate war — not from pictures — but because we have been involved in it, and many of us where the shots were fired or the bombs fell. And several of the leaders of the Establishment, after the dropping of the first atomic bombs, offered a plan to the world whereby we would have given up our monopoly over atomic weapons to an international body in return for effective international inspection; this was the Baruch Plan which other countries rejected.

Like every other combination of generations, the Establishment has its failures and its inadequacies and its selfish aspects, but it has a great deal that is affirmative, at least enough for constructive dialogues with the student generation. You may be surprised, but we are living on the same planet as you are and have the same general aversion to being blown up. I think we can reach you and narrow the generation gap, if we do not assume the defensive for our past and if we acknowledge your right to participate in determining your own future.

And while you still may be in a mood to listen, I would suggest a few other points of interest as the older generation sees them. Students should understand that freedom and order can be friends and not enemies, that one is the condition for the other. One person's freedom begins where the other person's right to intrude ends.

I have an idea that many students are too serious. They seem to lack a sense of fun and humor which is essential to a sense of proportion. The activists, in particular, seem to be a grim group. I suppose this is due to the fact that they are the spiritual successors to the Puritans, whom I'm sure they despise. They have their own witches and their own burnings, and with this inability to see things in perspective, to laugh at imperfections, any minor issue can be blown up into a cause celebre. I don't know how to transplant a funny bone, but if some of them could see themselves driving an MG, carrying a transistor radio, using a sophisticated camera and then complaining of the materialistic society, they should be able to laugh a little.

Another aspect of this lack of balance in some student behavior, it seems to me, is the steady decline in the place of athletic activity in our universities and colleges. I do not speak of classes in calisthenics or even to emphasize big games and contests. I am talking about the disproportionate falling off of individual exercise — in play and in competitive games. The old idea that a good deal of energy and hostility — against mom, dad, society and one's self — can be worked off in athletic games and competition is still true. Moreover, games are played according to certain rules — an ethic that is sometimes lost in the gamesmanship of confrontation.

We must all recognize that we are not perfect beings — in any generation. We must not apply to our neighbors or our college children or our parents standards of conduct which we ignore in our own lives. We must, in our respective spheres, exercise self-discipline because self-discipline is the delicate balance that makes democracy work. The mass of students, with a sufficient stake in influencing their own affairs, with an understanding of the controlling obligations of the college to itself, and with improved communications with faculty and the Establishment, will not be easily trapped into violence as a device for effecting change.

I close with a reference to an older time.

There once was a college at Camelot. It was seemingly a quiet place; yet there was great excitement and love of learning there and good strong argument to test every idea. The teachers were noted for their wit and respected for their wisdom, and their lectures were prepared anew each year and were garlanded with fresh anecdotes and leaves of knowledge. The students were considered part of the community of scholars and were listened to, and frequently their recommendations as to their interests and preferences followed, and they had much to say about the conduct of their own lives in and outside of the college. They did not always agree with their mentors and unhesitatingly told them so.

They talked with their professors on the porches of the Academy and in their offices; no idea was sacred because it was old, and no idea rejected because it was new, but both were always subject to careful scrutiny. The lights burned late in the Academy, for learning and thinking were lengthy and painful processes. Still the days were frequently joyous because there was much jousting and competition on the field and the nights made more pleasant with jesting and satirical comment which reduced every person's importance, teacher and student, to the size of a man. There was a governance of the College and an Establishment that supported it, but they were rarely in evidence except on feast days because the College did not stray from its business of education. Yet it has been told that weighty ideas emanated from this College at Camelot which subsequently changed the whole course of government and the history and affairs of the Kingdom; the graduates were evidently a hardy and independent lot.

Was there such a college as Camelot? Perhaps yes, perhaps no, but if higher education loses the vision of this college, as guide and star, it will be a grievous loss, because knowledge and balance and fair play and democratic ideals also will be lost should that day come, and what will be substituted will not be good for a people who wish to be free.

Relevance for Town and Gown

Address to the Western College Association
Palo Alto, California
March 5, 1970

(Originally printed in *Addresses and Proceedings*)

A little over a year ago, while still a trustee of the State Colleges, I visited the library at San Francisco State College during the period of the student demonstrations and boycott. During the preceding night a number of militant student protesters had succeeded in invading the library and had transferred books from and to widely separated shelves, spilled others helter skelter on the tables and on the floor. Thus, a book on Elizabethan drama might have been placed against a book on engineering or chemistry and a book on electricity against a book on psychology or medieval art. This disruption was carried out in the name of the protest that the college must become more relevant in its offerings and its teachings though the new, anarchical juxtaposition of books did not contribute much of a guideline.

Thus, for many of us, was ushered in the Age of Relevance. The university, the college, to justify its existence, must be "relevant." But relevant to what? And who sets the standards for relevance? A number of radical students had an immediate answer. Everything should stop until the College adopted an educational program for Afro-American studies which the interested black students deemed to meet their needs, to be taught by black professors approved by the black students. In the meantime, all classes irrespective of subject should devote themselves to discussing this issue and other social and political issues of the day and forget the four-lettered litter that constituted their regular assignments. Tell it like it is. Tell it like we want to hear it. Then we'll decide what to do about it here and in the Town.

Now, all students did not make demands in these terms. Students were and are divided in their interests and purposes, as other groups differ. But the well-organized minority and militant groups practically brought the College to a halt despite the presence and vigorous tactics of the police. Similar disruptions took place on campuses throughout the United States in the closing years of the 60's and still continue.

The views of the Town were clearly and forcefully expressed. The public saw no place for violence on a college campus. It made no sense in an institution based on knowledge and reason and providing any number of forums for dissent and discussion. The community felt that student violence on a campus is as misplaced as a shooting in a church. The community — city, state, and nation — recorded its displeasure in threats to reduce the financial support of public and private institutions.

In the final action on legislative bills the threats were not generally implemented, but the message came through.

The same view is expressed about student violence off campus. The Town sees student violence, as at Santa Barbara, as a culmination of *non sequiturs*. If the students are unhappy about the verdict against the Chicago Seven; if they are dissatisfied with their rents; if they feel depressed by the Vietnam war; if, as a few claim, they have been harassed by unreasonable police searches for the possession of marijuana — what justification do these complaints give 500 or 1,000 of them to hurl rocks in the streets, break hundreds of shop windows, overturn automobiles, and burn down a bank?

The Town was awakened to the vastly increased costs of higher education and has rumbled and grumbled ever since. But the faith of the Town in the ultimate value of U.S. mass higher education remains fairly intact. The Town's wants in relation to the university or college in its midst are fairly simple; namely, (1) train our young people to do the middle and upper jobs in industry, agriculture, government, and the professions; (2) keep them quiet in the meantime; (3) educate them to be responsible, stable citizens, not revolutionaries; and (4) try to keep the boys distinguishable from the girls and to hold them apart as much as possible after the library closes. Occasionally, the Town worries that perhaps the faculties are not the right people to instruct students to participate in the economy and in the obligations of citizenship. Some are concerned that professors are too much of one stripe — too "liberal." Of course, most college teachers, by training and temperament, are openminded to new ideas and may be characterized as liberal; it is incident to their profession. Whether some are sufficiently knowledgeable of the workings and problems of the Town is sometimes a valid question, particularly when they make public pronouncements and judgments outside their fields. The Town has been relatively tolerant in these situations, but it has been losing patience.

The Gown has not spoken on any of these matters with a single voice. There was a time, in the earliest days of the universities and colleges, when all segments of the institution would have replied together. The community of scholars during the Middle Ages — teachers and students — would have pulled their ragged gowns tight and replied, "Keep your hands off; don't order us; don't interfere with us; we will decide what we must say and do."

But today the Gown is divided and subdivided, confused and unsure. Student views are particularly in conflict. The extremely militant, as we know, contend that the whole structure of higher education is hopelessly antiquated and that the curriculum and teaching procedures are irrelevant to the social needs of the day. Therefore, the institution must be scrapped. The university must be destroyed along with the corrupt

society it so corruptly serves. Then, purified in the revolution, something noble would be built — a free university would function in complete freedom in a brotherly society of free men. This utopian campus would emerge without a plan and without a program; I imagine it would look something like the Flood without the Ark. We could dismiss this nihilism as nonsense if it had not achieved so much mischief in the last three years.

The militant black students, however, do have more specific objectives in mind. They, too, seek revolution in higher education. But they could be content to capture part of the institution and let the remainder fend for itself. The part they take over must be brought to serve the needs of the ghetto; they constitute the only relevance. To assure that these needs would be satisfied, they require that black students (controlled by the militants) would select the black professors to teach the black subjects — black ego, black history, black statistics and black language, either Swahili or perhaps some dialect of the ghetto, and other areas of black study. Thus, they would acquire dependable leadership who would apply their black knowledge to emancipate their people from the city ghetto and lead them into some unpromised land of black nationalism. Where? Is it to be the rest of the city? Is it to be some nation ghetto between our Atlantic and Pacific shores? (Even Stokely Carmichael regards such separatism as impossible in this country.) Whatever it may be, such a program is predicated on a whole series of irrelevancies and assumptions bound to lead to frustration and tragedy for all concerned. The curriculum would either be false — lacking academic integrity, bearing no relationship to the pursuit of truth — or be falsely labelled — that is, the essential subjects would be presented fairly, but the "black" title would have no meaning. The probability is that courses, structured along racial lines, would inspire, motivate and fan racial hatreds. In the end, the graduates of such a program would be wholly unprepared to adjust to the world in which they seek dignity, jobs and comforts; they could only cause the ghetto to become more frustrated, more angry, more violent. Perhaps these negative aims are those that are intended, but the college and university cannot acquiesce to the implementation of such a program without betraying the principle of its being. Unquestionably, underlying the program are essential needs that must be met and given effective academic form in a curriculum designed to remedy past omissions, to set forth ethnic contributions, to deal with ghetto problems and possible solutions, and to develop or extend honest Afro-American, Mexican-American, and other ethnic studies.

There are a substantial number of students who reject the extremes we have been considering, but who are activists and who see the university or college as an instrument of reform. They want to study a problem,

arrive at a solution and apply it to the benefit of the Town: counter pollution, reorganize government, eliminate racism, control population, end war. They are prepared to ring doorbells, man tables, hand out literature and work for human betterment. They believe the Gown should solve the problems of the Town. (In one area they certainly can make an immediate and future contribution: they can do something about the control of population.)

As nearly as can be estimated, the majority of the students are content, as in the past, to train for the Town jobs. They find their courses in engineering, architecture, natural science, agriculture and business administration highly relevant to their own needs. They will learn the practical skills which, to a considerable degree, they will later employ. The Town heartily approves, and recruiters go to the campuses to garner the annual crop.

An articulate and colorful minority rejects these square practices, though they, too, see the college as a place where they will find their personal satisfactions. They seek a kind of happiness and fulfillment the Town frowns upon and does not wish to provide. These students want a personal, hedonistic freedom — expressed in terms of nonresponsibility, of mysticism, of sex, of drugs, in a social context best described in "Hair" as the "groovy revolution." The student, with his fellows, living a kind of tribal existence — experimenting with his body and his soul in a variety of personal and group experiences — wants to bring the free life to the Town. They will rid themselves and the Town of their hangups. To the extent of their affluence, the Town may absorb them in its counterpart of a Greenwich Village; otherwise, either the students will conform sufficiently to participate in the Town, or the future for them looks drab indeed.

The curious thing about these hippie students is that they have twisted and turned the idea of a liberal education against itself. Actually, it long has been the purpose of a liberal education for a student to do his own thing. In a way, the mark of a liberal education was, and is, its sense of irrelevancies. In Great Britain, in the 19th century, the graduates of Oxford and Cambridge, schooled in Latin, procuring their degrees in philosophy, in literature, in classic studies, were then given their positions in the British civil service and told to operate the Empire — its trade, its ships, its finances, its politics. The education was totally irrelevant to the function in society. Or was it? Was the apparently irrelevant curriculum the best training the graduate could have received? It taught him how to approach an intellectual problem, how to dig into it, how to think it through, and it demanded a sense of style. From widely diversified subject matter, the students learned something of what the Abbe Dimnet called "the art of thinking." The mind was developed through discipline. And since the student was

required to develop an individual style of expression, he often learned a skill which gave enjoyment to himself and his friends for the rest of his life.

I'm aware that the education to which I have referred was a privileged affair, an elitist education. In terms of social awareness, it tended to be narrow and to limit horizons. I am not advocating its adoption, even if it were possible, in our colleges and universities. But I do call attention to two of its salient successes: first, that the study of subjects which do not indicate any immediate use — in other words, of the apparently "irrelevant" — often has equipped students with the skills to deal with the highly relevant; and second, irrelevancies have contributed greatly to the individual's joy of living.

Perhaps, this is a propitious time to ask the summary question, what is a student in today's colleges? (You once gave me an opportunity to describe a trustee.) I suggest a definition by categories; namely, one who is

1. An anti-student: he wants to teach, not learn; to lecture, not take notes; to dictate, not debate; to tear down, not build.
2. Eager to learn anything bearing directly upon society, its ills, hypocrisies and injustices, in order to ameliorate, remedy or reform.
3. Interested to learn to earn (probably the majority).
4. Anxious to discover everything about himself, how to use his freedom to the limit, to enjoy his personal life in conscious and unconscious pleasures.
5. Bored by the whole business.

The outlook for the 70's is that campus populations will increase astronomically. The Town is warning about costs and higher tuition. The students, finding it difficult to obtain admission into colleges and universities, are crowding the community colleges, then complaining that after two years they still find it difficult, as applicants for transfer, to enter the colleges and universities. The quality of higher education becomes strained under the mass pressure. The question is, do we continue our same educational program and procedures, do we provide more of the same, or do we begin to make some fundamental changes in order to make higher education relevant to the last part of the 20th century?

I believe that we have never faced the fact that mass higher education has yet to adapt itself to mass needs. We have tried to fit in ever larger numbers into old molds. We give more lectures to more students. We break them up into small classroom sections for discussion, meaning that a few of the articulate dominate the class. We spend too many passive hours in the process of learning. The system will not work much longer. It is too inefficient.

My own suggestions for changes in the 70's may individually seem moderate, but in the aggregate could mean profound differences from the present program. I am not sure that "changes" is the right word, because certain procedures about to be discussed are already in effect in a number of your institutions and a preliminary basic proposal recommends a return to traditional objectives of higher education.

Thus, at the outset, let us beware of the danger of faddism in higher education — for example, the view that the subjects must be new, the approach must be new, because only the new is good. Too much of this simplistic attitude was evidenced in the student protests of the late 60's. Their efforts to reconstitute education on the basis of assumptions that the society is absolutely corrupt; therefore, education must concentrate on all its weaknesses and vulnerabilities in order to motivate and achieve revolution; the notion that ethnic studies should be synthesized or constructed on the basis of cultural apartheid, whatever the material; the narcissistic concept of many students that education must direct itself solely to expose what has been called "the true me" by constantly probing and digging for identity instead of cultivating it — were a few of the attempts recently made to misdirect the college and the university. The top priority, I do believe, is that higher education must first of all, before any reform, be true to itself — seek the truth, with reason and skepticism, and be the servant of no institution or segment of society — government, industry, political, ethnic or student group.

But, once this position is firmly taken, there is much to be done, in the way of change, to improve educational quality and the educational process. Most of the modifications would bear directly or indirectly upon the question of relevancy. The views about to be expressed are subject to the limitation that they come from a non-professional (although from one who, over the years, has had substantial contact with faculty and students).

1. College teaching techniques require a major overhaul. Every college teacher should undergo an intensive course or courses in which he is trained in motivation, lecture structure, devices to interest students and to bring them into the learning process as active participants. Of course, if a teacher does not know his subject, method will be of little help. But, there has not been a sufficient emphasis on the techniques of good teaching and the obligation of a professor to be as interesting as his talents permit.

2. Consistent with the teaching emphasis, the graduate degrees should be modified. The Ph.D. should be reserved for an academic career, chiefly in writing and research; the doctorate for teaching should require knowledge of the subject areas and the ability and interest to teach them.

3. The trend toward interdisciplinary and team teaching should be continued and expanded. The fractionalizing of knowledge has been a cause of narrowing interest and response, of concealing the interrelationships of knowledge and of boredom. Individual departments then should be prevented from pre-programming a student's education with too many detailed and repetitive requirements for his major.

4. Lectures that repeat books should be abandoned. The experience of many students through many college generations is that about half could be cancelled with beneficial results to everybody. The time thus conserved could be spent in more individual attention in problem areas.

5. Reading assignments, personalized to the extent possible, should be increased, along with the requirement of essay-type papers reviewed by the teacher. Nothing reveals the student's understanding, point of view, critical and imaginative faculties as does a provocative essay question. Mass higher education means more education at home by the independent effort of the student.

6. Examinations should be fewer and more comprehensive. Pass-fail examinations might be preferable if unrelated or tangential to the main course of study, but not as an appropriate evaluation of a student's primary program. No one wants a pass-fail doctor, engineer, architect, business executive or biologist. In-depth written evaluations by teachers may be an effective substitute for graded examinations in many instances. In any event the Town is entitled to some evidence that its investment has been productive.

7. The junior college should strengthen and emphasize its terminal programs. Students in the general courses of the junior college and of all colleges and universities, whose attainments are marginal at the end of their sophomore year, should be discouraged from continuing a general program of study toward a bachelor's degree unless their teachers certify to their academic potential in some area of study. The Town's industry should give some luster to the junior college degree by supporting it as a basis for employment, since in a great many instances, there is no reasonable ground for requiring a bachelor's degree. There should be no prejudice to the right of any student who stops college or university at the end of his sophomore year from returning after he has acquired interest or motivation.

8. A much greater exchange between Town and Gown should occur. The Town is a repository of experience and of some wisdom, too. The college or university does well to invite representatives of the Town to its classrooms in order to discuss the problems which they, as decision-makers, or planners, or critics, face every day. For example, much might be gained if judges and lawyers were asked to appear in appropriate undergraduate classes to explain to students what is meant by due

process, human rights, the appellate procedure, the rule of law, and the problems encountered in the administration of justice. On the other hand, the studies and theories of the classroom and of research are and can be made available more extensively to the Town. What can result, as a by-product of such experiences in relevance, is that the university or college will become more worldly in its pursuit of truth and the Town will become more conceptual and bolder in approaching change.

9. Students should be given an opportunity to participate in the development of new curricula and the evaluation of old; i.e., to make known their interests, criticisms and proposals. Student written evaluations of courses and teachers should be considered by faculty committees as a factor in their decisions in promotions and tenure. But students cannot have an equal voice in these matters; the faculty must retain the power to decide; if it were otherwise, there would be no reason for training, study, experience or expertise. In the main, students should develop their own rules of conduct, vis-a-vis, the college. Experience indicates that student codes of ethics are as strict, if not more so, than those which are college imposed, provided that the representatives of the total student body and not simply the militants are in control of the drafting. In case of disruption, as the American Bar Association advises, primary reliance should be placed on the college disciplinary proceedings, not on the Town's criminal courts. The prompt and forthright handling of grievances by administrators experienced in human relations is the best means of keeping the campus cool.

10. There is one area of the highest relevance to Town and Gown that, in recent years, has been more and more neglected to the disadvantage of both and another area that has not received a proper emphasis.

The neglected subject is history. Most students of the 60's seemed to feel it is irrelevant. Certainly, their ignorance of the past must be a contributing factor to their imbalance and insecurity. To face the uncertain present and the challenge of the future without any substantial knowledge of what has happened to primitive and ancient man, to medieval and Renaissance man, to man during the ages of enlightenment and revolution, is absurd. While the past is not repeated, it is often echoed; and the mistakes of the Greek City States have their counterparts in the errors of the nation states of today. To refuse to read the past is the height of arrogance and folly. What study could be more relevant? With a little knowledge of history, could one contend that it is better to have nothing than to have contemporary American society, shortcomings included?

In the 70's, the colleges and universities should insist on general history as a required subject, without substitute or alternatives. In addition, I would like to see an intensive course in 20th century history. It might serve to link the generations. This generation of students would

do well to ascertain how their parents and grandparents met the great new problems of their day and how, through design or accident, their judgment, good or bad, helped shape the world in which they live.

The other area that somehow seems overlooked is the utter interdependence and complexity of modern urban civilization. It comes to my attention every day in San Francisco. I look out of my office windows and see the Bay Bridges, BART under construction, a vast new Cathedral rising near where its predecessor had been destroyed in a fire, new office buildings going up on every side. Yet, with all of the miraculous equipment and tools of modern construction, it takes years to complete a project. If a new building is to be built, several old ones must be knocked down and the debris removed, the ground excavated and cleaned like a cavity in a tooth, huge pilings hammered into the earth fill and bay bottom to secure the heavy foundations, then precisely and painfully floor by floor erected, steel skeleton, countless wires for utilities, joists and beams placed, walls of glass adjusted, automatic elevators — nervous and jerky for a trial period — installed, partitions added, and countless more things done to finish simply a building, to accommodate thousands of people who use all kinds of public and private transport to come and go, who support families and community chests and payments for college fees and tuition from their earnings — besides paying taxes, running households and seeing their travel agents — and who all work, pour in and out of one new building. It takes so long to build — to procure the feasibility studies, the financing, the plans, the equipment, the materials, the labor. It is so easy to destroy — one small bomb will do it all at once to a hundred buildings. But it does not take a bomb; a power failure will do it, too, at least temporarily — the elevators will stop, communications will be blocked, the life will ooze out of the building.

Have students any idea of the intricacy of the civilization which is being handed to them? Much of it works like a watch with a million parts. Much of it needs to be taken apart or added to or given new form. Yes, it can be changed. It is not all enclosed in steel and glass and concrete. But it is a delicate mechanism. It has to be handled with care. It must not be crushed by wild and hysterical pressures, by the fanaticism of a mob, by the obscenities of War. Its deficiencies and injustices should be remedied by expanding its benefits, not by blowing it to pieces or throwing wrenches into the gears. But, such moralizing aside, should not higher education give to all students an understanding of this complexity, of the blood, sweat and tears it took to construct and build, of the fact that the world they live in just didn't happen, and of their obligation as civilized men and women to conserve it as well as change it where it should be changed?

What the Town asks is that the students understand its perplexities, its diverse interests, its incredible interdependence, its aspirations, and then feel a commitment to the community. Because, without such a commitment, youth could use its knowledge of the complexities for sabotage, rather than for social and civic improvement. And the Town expects the Gown to develop such a commitment.

11. Indeed, the Town has greater expectations. The Town is painfully aware of its limitations, of the difficulties in communicating with, and meeting the needs of, its varied population. It acknowledges and explains the reasons for its imperfections and deficiencies; too many people in different circumstances and too hard to reach.

But then the Town eyes the Gown — teachers and students of an intellectual level substantially above the Town. The purpose of the institution is more clearly defined, and the whole life of the place is communication. Here is a society that should work, that should provide a model of self-government. If not in such an advantaged environment, where?

Therefore, when the Gown presents the spectacle of faculty vs. administration, of students opposing both, and of all confronting trustees, the Town is sadly disappointed. If the college cannot demonstrate how freedom and order may be adjusted in a fairly select community, then what are the prospects for the Town? The Town quite understandably feels let down by a failure in college governance. It does not seem too much to ask that the college put its house in order as a top priority.

A principal reform must be the reconstitution of the college presidency. The president must be more than a conciliator and consensus taker. The president must be afforded some of the security and prerogatives of leadership and high executive responsibility. Of course, he should not be on a collision course with his faculty, or with students, or with trustees. But, he should enjoy the presumption of authority and every decision should not be a subject for detailed explanation and defense. Students should not have the right to put the president on the carpet whenever they deem an accounting is necessary. In exchange for giving students a significant place in influencing decisions or in the decision-making process concerning affairs that directly pertain to them, students must accept the principle that with responsibility goes authority, and that the office in which authority reposes must be respected.

What is required of the students should, from different perspectives, be mandatory on faculty, trustees and public officials. A president cannot provide leadership or be creative or constructive if he is constantly being confronted with the second guesses and hindsight wisdom of these other segments of governance. The president should enjoy the

presumption of innocence and ability. When the record clearly goes against him, remove him, if that is the required decision, but after he has had a hearing at least equivalent to the consideration afforded the college janitor, let alone the tenured professor. But quit picking on him for the sport, or he and his fellow presidents will become an extinct species.

With the president restored to a position of authority, the faculty senate should become a parliament responsible for most decisions on academic policy, subject to budgetary controls. But it must learn to accelerate its deliberations and to engage in less professional logrolling. Most important, it must develop procedures to control its doctrinaire politicians who operate solely with power in mind. Some of the younger firebrands who want to capture control of the university as a step toward a general revolutionary takeover of the Town must be contained by their professional peers. When the Gown shows the way that changes may be made peacefully, the Town will profit by the example.

But, the Town — nations, states and cities — has vast responsibilities of its own. Until it tackles the fundamental issues of survival — the control of nuclear arms, of environment, of population and of urban living — with that concentration of energy, talent, material and money heretofore reserved for the conduct of world wars, there will be student unrest arising from deeply imbedded fears that we are all drifting to extinction on an earth destined to become a man-made moon.

These final comments have been sprinkled with "musts" and "shoulds." It could not be otherwise. Ultimately, any form of democracy depends on a high degree of self-discipline. There is no assurance that it will be exercised. There is only the hope that the special community of the Gown, more intellectually disciplined than most of society, will meet its problems more honestly and more reasonably than the community off campus.

And, here is where you come in — the presidents and principal administrators of a great number of important colleges and universities. I recommend that you assume and use your authority to the utmost to make campus governance viable. Whatever your critics may say, they can't do without you. No executive in any other field shoulders a greater or more important responsibility. No other executive has more noble values to conserve or more far-reaching changes to make. No other executive performs a more constructive service for society. No other executive is closer to understanding the perils and pitfalls of knowledge, new and old, and of the intellectual, as well as the physical, ills that beset mankind. You are the strongest representatives in the 70's of that ideal of the Greeks — of moderation in all things — that can be the saving grace of even a technologically oriented civilization. Hold on, and lead your campuses — and your actions will have a unique

relevance for the Town. The Town will respect you and usually support you; and, if on some issue they can't forgive you, they will forgive your successor.

IV. Past and Future

Remarks at Dedication of The California State University Archives

California State University, Dominguez Hills
September 15, 1981

Chancellor Dumke, friends on the platform, friends all.

It is a thrill for me to be here — to participate in this 20th Anniversary celebration and particularly in this dedication ceremony. It is good to see so many old friends on their feet and in more or less the same shape as they were in earlier years. I was happy to hear Governor Pat Brown who appointed all of us on the first Board and who stood by us no matter how much we surprised him with our divided and independent opinions. And may I pay tribute to Chancellor Dumke, an extraordinary public servant by any standards, who has given direction to this system over almost its entire life and whose imprint will last far beyond the two decades of history that we are celebrating this evening. His survival in his post is already a legend in the annals of American higher education — at times it reads like an account of the *Perils of Pauline* or even of the *Raiders of the Lost Ark*, but actually survival is not the mark of his administration.

Rather his persistent efforts to achieve quality education throughout the CSUC, to provide new approaches in educational methods and offerings to meet student needs and to maintain this segment's commitments under the Master Plan of which he was a principal architect — these are among the contributions that will mark his era.

I am tempted to join the other speakers in their anecdotage, including telling the tale of the mercurial arrival and departure of the first Chancellor, Buell Gallagher, but I will resist and stick to my assignment which is to inform you in a general way about these Archives — their proposed contents, uses and purposes.

Of course Archives contain the official records of an institution and secondary material explanatory or interpretive of the acts or events recorded. Archives are commonly thought of as a dark and cavernous place where the memoirs of the past gather dust in crowded files, bearing silent testimony to the years that were, with little effect on the years that are or are to come. We believe that the CSUC Archives will have a different destiny; they will be more of a living record referred to by those who administer as well as those who research. They even may give rise to controversy, as so many matters do in this effervescent agency.

The Archives will receive only materials bearing upon the system as a whole; there is no intention to duplicate the venerable histories of the individual campuses. Occasionally a campus event or declaration will

have substantial systemwide implications and therefore will be a fit subject for both local and statewide archives. In the 60's such instances were not unusual. The prehistory leading to the Master Plan, insofar as it deals with the concept of State College federation or the rival concept of a State College-University merger, will also be included in the Archives, and, naturally, the specific planning period of the transition Board of Trustees in 1960-61.

Among the records and materials to be deposited will be the following:

1. The agendas and minutes of the Board of Trustees. Of course, minutes are often only the polished surface of action. What lies behind the minutes in reports and research may represent hours or weeks or months of study.
2. Reports and research that constitute the background of action, affirmative or negative, will be received, along with commentaries on the actions taken.
3. Systemwide memoranda, guidelines and official opinions.
4. Testimony of an official or trustee before a legislative committee relating to actions, past or proposed, or to pending legislation.
5. Key addresses of officials or trustees relating to systemwide policy.
6. Photos, reports and accounts of systemwide events.
7. Oral histories. These will be valuable to show intent or to resolve an ambiguity or to show why, in the opinion of the narrator, an action was taken or event occurred. Sometimes such histories are flawed by faulty memories or are unduly self-serving, but this will never be the case with our trustees and officials!
8. Personal papers and other pertinent materials. Not all papers can be accepted; the Archives must not be the dumping ground for everything that is in our attics or garages.
9. Pertinent books and publications. Maybe some will be impertinent.

The judgment of professional archivists on the Committee will largely control the receipt of materials under the policies of the Committee and Board.

What will be the uses of the Archives? First of all, they will provide an historical record of the origins of the system; the growth in every direction — student enrollment, curricula, degrees granted, faculty with Ph.D.'s, expansion of campuses, architectural transformation from San Quentin modern to award-winning buildings (due in large part to that veteran of veteran trustees, Charles Luckman), library books per student, budgets, increases in faculty salaries (never enough), decreases in faculty salaries (the 1.8% debacle), data from the Helene Whitson almanac, the organization and operations of the Statewide Faculty

Senate, the addition of ethnic studies, the upward mobility of the headquarters from the Imperial Palace to the Golden Shore, the development of master planning, changes in faculty and student grievance procedures, responses to student unrest, including the most dramatic wire pulling in all educational history — when Sam Hayakawa pulled out the wires of a student protest sound truck and leapt to a national career. These are merely a few scattered items.

Second, and perhaps more important, the materials in the Archives will reflect and throw light upon the great issues that have confronted the system and may, in part, still be unresolved. For example:

1. Campus autonomy vs. central control. The never-ending struggle between the center and the field.
2. The anatomy of governance: the proper roles of trustees, administration, faculty and students. Does a trustee represent all of the people's interests in education or a regional or other constituency? What powers should be delegated to presidents?
3. Faculty organization and collective bargaining. Changes in relationships that may accompany collective bargaining.
4. Rights and obligations of academic freedom as they apply to administration, faculty and students.
5. Procedures related to student protests or militant activities, if they occur.
6. How to support individuality of the campuses?
7. What is policy for the Trustees and administrative detail for others? Should the Trustees ever intervene in curriculum matters?
8. When faced with budgetary cuts, what principles should govern priorities in retaining programs?
9. How to influence the Governor and Legislature without appearing to be really trying?

As indicated, the foregoing are only examples of the multitude of issues which this system has faced over the years. New ones will emerge, you can be sure.

Third, the Archives should be an aid to future development, as Chairman John O'Connell has said — by revealing experience, achievements and errors, by helping the various segments within the system to understand each other's perceptions. They should provide the materials for definitive chapters of the history of the system and encourage research and scholarship in subjects covered by the system. They should make people conscious that there is a system and that the benefits outweigh the burdens.

President Don Gerth in 1971 co-edited a book about the State Colleges called *The Invisible Giant*. These Archives, about to be dedicated, will provide a home for the Giant when it is at rest. And Dr. Dumke, in order to make the Giant more visible, will you come to the

podium so that the Advisory Committee can present to you a nameplate to mark the Giant's house and its ever-growing presence. Chancellor Dumke — let us hope there will be gold to be found behind the door to which this plate will be attached.

Educational Standards: Public Expectations

Address to the Western College Association
Newport Beach, California
March 9, 1978

(Originally printed in *Addresses and Proceedings*)

It is a pleasure to address the Western College Association, especially on such a provocative subject as Educational Standards: Public Expectations. Of course, you already have had three excellent presentations on educational standards by educational experts; shortly, you will hear from three panels of educators on variations of the same theme, and you may well wonder (as I do) what this lay cleric is doing in your Temple. How can he say anything that is new? Your skepticism would be further justified by history. For most centuries, except in unusual instances, the public has had little to say about higher education. From Greek times to the early 1900's the numbers involved in higher education were comparatively small and the public was not much concerned with what was taught or how it was taught.

In other words, education was for the educators to determine — though from time to time directed (or redirected) by princes of the church and state. On occasion the students had something to say about the educational process. In some of the medieval universities of 13th century Italy, the students hired the professors and demanded that they deliver so many lectures, at prescribed times, covering stipulated sections of the authoritative text in each lecture, and fined a professor for breach of contract if he digressed. Indeed a professor could not take a leave without the consent of his students. Students had the right (or obligation) to walk out on a professor who talked beyond his allotted hour. It should be noted that the students were concerned with the competency of the teaching and did not seek to change the text or the subject matter; they insisted only that it be delivered properly and in digestible form.

It is also true that public influence had been brought to bear, through legislation, to change higher education, e.g., the Morrill Act of 1862 in the United States, providing for the creation of land grant colleges in which curriculum was added to include engineering, mining and agriculture. However, extensive public interest in our colleges awaited the 20th century and mass education. If everybody is supposed to go to college, it is not surprising that everybody becomes interested in what goes on there.

After World War II came the postsecondary deluge. The G.I.'s, returned from the war, brought to the campus a maturity, motivation,

and level of achievement that seldom have been equaled. The idea of everybody going to college caught fire. And in California, institutions blossomed in every part of the state; junior colleges, teachers' colleges, teachers' colleges converting to liberal arts colleges, private colleges and universities, and the branches of the University of California spread from the Berkeley trunk.

The public seemed delighted with this turn of events and the California legislator began to look upon the college as earlier Congressional legislators had looked upon the post office; it was a feather in his cap to bring home an appropriation for a new college because it meant business activity, improved real estate values, and perhaps a little education too. Suddenly in 1960 the Legislature panicked when it viewed this anarchy of expansion of several education empires (in 1959 there were 23 bills introduced providing for new colleges) and, fearing the bankruptcy of the state and taxpayer reprisals, ordered the educational community to put its house in order. The result was the Master Plan for Higher Education in this state — the three-tiered program that captured a moment in the evolution of our educational forms, gave overlapping and yet different missions to our three public segments, encouraged the private sector, in particular, to engage in innovation and educational experiment, and decreed that thenceforth expansion would be orderly and in response to demonstrated need.

Now I have no mandate from the public to give you its views. I have neither taken nor participated in a public poll. But as a trustee and layman involved in a number of higher education enterprises, I have some impression of the public reaction in California, and elsewhere, to higher education and their expectations since the adoption of the Master Plan.

The term "public" is a large one. It may mean John and Jane Q. Public, known as the general public, the little people in the newspaper cartoon who are forever being pushed and pursued for their taxes. But for our purposes it also refers to a number of smaller publics more directly related to the higher education scene — including prospective and actual students (young and old), parents, concerned alumni, employees, trustees of college institutions, and government officials and legislators whose duty it is to perceive the public interest.

The deep concern of the general public in higher education has been engaged at least twice in the last two decades. The first occasion, as previously suggested, was during the development, discussion and presentation of the Master Plan. The average citizen understood the relationship of his pocketbook to higher education. The plan seemed sensible to him — extending broad opportunity at the base and permitting those who were not initially eligible to enter the other segments to do so later on the basis of achievement in the junior college and allowing

the senior segments themselves to provide for special admissions. Some faculty, some students, some minority representatives have complained that the Master Plan is too protective of the elitism of the upper segments, but the public at large seems to accept its rationale.

The second time that the public confronted higher education on a large scale was during the protests and demonstrations of the late 60's. They were appalled by the violence on the campuses. Whether higher education is a right or a privilege, the public seemed to consider it a privilege that was being abused. In some respects the general public conceives of the college as a kind of secular church. They regarded the shattering of windows, the occupation of buildings, the fights with police, the exchange of epithets between certain factions of faculty members as a kind of desecration of the cathedral. The college or university in the minds of most people should face the world with a model or standard of reasonableness, but what the public saw on television was a street brawl.

We know that some of this violence was a show, put on for the sake of media attention, but also that much of the passion of the students was genuine and generated by an inflamed attitude toward the Vietnam War and the issues of minority rights. We know that the college could not escape the world around it. Nevertheless volumes of letters from citizens, both conservative and liberal, testified to their despair and disillusionment with higher education, and their strong feelings regarding the unacceptability of violence on campus have persisted. A governor of this state was elected partly on the basis of his denunciation of this violence and of the alleged timidity of academics in dealing with it. Almost eight years later, after these occurrences, a senator from this state was elected largely because the voters remembered his symbolic act of disconnecting the student strike loudspeaker system on the campus of which he was president.

In these calmer days of the 70's, long after the students themselves had put out the flames, the general public once again seems troubled by the economic rather than the political aspects of higher education, indeed, by the higher costs of all education. They are paying for these costs in high taxes and tuition. They want something for their money. They expect something measurable, almost tangible, for their money. They are confused by newspaper and magazine reports saying that, notwithstanding the expensive gadgets and machines, auditory and visual aids, closed-circuit television, college graduates (let alone high school graduates) cannot read, write, or count competently. I don't believe that the public insists that the college graduate be guaranteed a job by reason of his degree, but I do believe that they expect that the college experience should add demonstrably to the graduate's abilities to cope with the world and himself. The public seems resigned to the fact that

for the present and some time in the future the deficiencies with reference to basic education in the public schools will continue. Therefore they assume that higher education will proceed with its remedial programs in English and mathematics for an indefinite period of time.

There are certain areas, however, where public expectations are very high and these refer to graduate education in medicine, law and other licensed professions. The public insists on competent doctors, lawyers, engineers, architects, and the like. Indeed, the public does not allow these professionals any margin of error. They are not prepared to give a compassionate grade for improvement to a surgeon who leaves a small sponge in the patient's abdomen instead of the large one he left at the time of the first operation. The number of malpractice suits testifies to the strong feelings of the public in these matters.

Let us proceed to the undergraduate students. These may be divided into two groups: the first is traditional and comprised of the young people between 18 and 25; the second is the older group, those with work or life experience who are returning to college, usually after the age of 35. They also may take graduate courses.

To an enormous extent both groups have become career oriented. As a result of their college education the younger students expect to develop particular skills and to obtain and hold jobs commensurate with these skills. Most profess not to be interested in the liberal arts. They regard the rebellion of the counterculture in the 60's as having been counterproductive. To these rather serious young students, the pastoral and communal efforts of that recent college generation, their encounters with hard drugs and themselves, ended for too many in frustration and failure. So now through higher education the contemporary students seek their careers and the enjoyment of life, and the focus of their aspirations seems rather narrow.

The students expect no-nonsense instruction. They have accepted some of the legacies of the 60's. For example they continue to rate their professors and their courses and want their input to affect faculty judgments on promotions and tenure. My own experience is that student evaluations are reasonably on target; they are not intended to be popularity awards and frequently reserve the highest marks for a professor who applies the strictest standards. As may be anticipated when careerism is the model, students expect that curriculum will bear substantially upon the problems of their intended careers. Thus career motivation has led to the expansion of business schools, MBA programs, and technological and scientific programs.

There are other young students, in reduced number, who concentrate in the liberal arts, seeking knowledge for its own sake and struggling with a variety of course options (many of these students will enter

professional schools later on). A fraction of these students remains loyal to the counterculture. They continue to advocate that higher education should be primarily concerned with feelings, personal encounters and exchanges, self-examination, self-development, looking downward and inward to reach the "real me" even if one may not discover any goodies inside, only the void of ignorance.

The older students represent an interesting phenomenon. Already it is estimated that they constitute over 30% of the student population of the American campuses and by the 1980's may comprise over 50%. Their objectives in the majority of cases are somewhat similar to those of their younger counterparts, but are more specific and likely of attainment. Most of the older students who are working desire to upgrade themselves for advancement and promotion. They know their jobs and are aware of what is demanded for better or more interesting positions. They will return to their offices or vocations with fairly solid assurance that they will receive advanced status as a result of their specialized education. Employers seem quite satisfied to encourage this procedure. Sometimes they lose promising employees to other fields and other employers as a result of financing this educational opportunity, but most of the time they receive back a more productive employee. These older careerists must have a profound effect in raising classroom standards. The world has been their training ground rather than the classroom. A professor must be knowledgeable to maintain his authority. These older students, as you know, usually do not take a leave from their employment to resume their education, but the institutions have adjusted their programs to a day, evening or weekend of instruction and to concentrated seminars and institutes.

Another group of older students, both before and after retirement, seeks a different kind of educational experience. Some who went to college feel that they neglected their former opportunities; others had to go to work and deferred their college education; still others have simply discovered the need for intellectual and cultural exploration. They enroll in the liberal arts college — in music, literature, creative writing, history, philosophy, psychology — the whole gamut of the arts and social sciences. They expect, as a result of their studies, to know their world and themselves somewhat better, perhaps to assuage that spiritual and intellectual hunger that will never be satisfied by the marketplace or material possessions. From such contacts as I have had with the traditional colleges and with the Fromm Institute for Lifelong Learning in San Francisco, the education that this segment of the older group receives does accord with their expectations.

Mention must be made of the possibilities of abuse of educational standards in connection with career or even humanistic studies. Everyone wants a bargain, and if it is believed that a lower or higher

college degree is the passport to a job market, then there will be suppliers of the quick degree. Since considerable money may be made in this area, some institutions, proprietary and nonprofit, new and old, have indicated that they are prepared to take dubious shortcuts to provide the sought-after degree. The operative device is to give credit toward the degree for various types of lifetime experience — work, travel, museum attendance, marriage, divorce, incarceration in prison, or any type of experience that can be converted, through some kind of academic alchemy, into academic credit. I have heard that as much as 90% of credit toward a degree can be obtained in this way in several unique situations. Unquestionably the public values worldly experience and supports the idea that a student who has had practical experience equivalent, or more than equivalent, to the academic experience should be given credit for it. A bookkeeper may have come to know a great deal about accounting; an employee in personnel may have acquired considerable skill in dealing with people. If the procedure of evaluation is careful and honest, the awarding of experience credits may well be justified. But if trivial experience is converted into credit, it may be fraud, pure and simple.

The public becomes very angry when it is deceived. The student who finds that his certificate or degree is not marketable as represented or that the job promised by the catalogue is not delivered becomes distressed and wants a refund of his tuition and damages. The Federal Office of Education has commissioned a study of the administration of state laws in this field, and it may be anticipated that there will be recommendations for strengthening state legislation and for enforcement. The state, through its licensing laws, should be the main agency to prevent consumer fraud in this area as in other areas.

I referred to the college catalogue. In passing, may I suggest that student users expect that course content will be summarized in English as clear as it is expected from them in their term papers or summary reports.

Concerned alumni are another group of the public that have expressed views on educational standards. In 1970, the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education published a report prepared for the Commission by Joe L. Spaeth and Andrew M. Greeley, who had conducted surveys of alumni of the classes of 1961. The study was based on a sample of 40,000 graduates of 135 universities and colleges; the data were collected from 1961 through 1968.

The study found, in part, "that the general or liberal goals of higher education are more popular with the alumni than the vocational goals. . . ." Indeed, in selecting a college for their own children, they regard "the most important characteristics . . . that the college

provides a good general education. They do not view career training and general education as mutually exclusive."

This emphasis is different from that of the contemporary student. It suggests that the 1961 student, seven years out, would agree with those educators who advocate a required general or core curriculum for all students, irrespective of their career goals.

The idea of such a core curriculum for comprehensive colleges is certainly not new, but the attention now being given it is an extremely important development. I think it would win public acceptance and support. It is entirely consistent with the public's view that higher education should be able to show that it has done something.

Several interesting proposals have been made. One is presented in an essay on the objectives and quality of higher education issued in April of last year by the Tennessee Higher Education Commission. It states a position on the minimal attainments which are to be expected of college students. The first category consists of the general skills of writing, reading, speaking and calculating which should be acquired in elementary and secondary education, but in any event must be mastered by college students. Secondly, they should understand concepts of democracy and citizenship, history and geography, science, economics, literature, and self-directed learning. And finally, they should develop certain qualities of mind and character which will help them "make discerning judgments in their roles as citizens, in their personal lives and in their careers." All of these competencies are illustrated in some detail and I will relate a very few examples: the level of writing includes the ability to write letters of application and biographical resumes and letters to the editor; the level of reading, to understand newspapers, periodicals, insurance policies, imaginative literature; the level of speaking, to recount the main ideas of a lecture or discussion, to state one's vocational goals and experiences in a job interview; the level of mathematics, to use elementary statistical data; the level of democracy and citizenship, to distinguish general functions among the judicial, legislative, and executive branches of local, state, and national governments; the level of history and geography, to know the major forces and events which have formed American society and to know the diversity of world cultures and the influence of cultures that compose the American population. Various other skills and competencies are similarly illustrated or identified — perhaps the most important one deals with the ability to think critically.

I believe that if higher education gave the graduate the ability to read, explain and decide upon a typical California initiative, when voting yes on a negative is supposed to be affirmative, it would have proven its worth!

Another program for a core curriculum is set forth in a recent article in *Change* by Ernest L. Boyer, U.S. Commissioner of Education, and his associate Martin Kaplan entitled "Education for Survival." The article was drawn from a book which has been or is soon to be issued. The general education requirements would be grouped around the past, the present and the future. The past would consist of the events, individuals, ideas and systems that contributed importantly to our heritage; the present, of the principal institutions that make up the world, including "government, law, business, finance, the economy and the non-profit realm"; the future, of the great problems to be solved in areas such as national resources, nuclear weapons proliferation, population, pollution and climate. In addition, the moral and ethical considerations that should guide individual choices would be explored.

Boyer and Kaplan set forth the rationale for a core curriculum in graphic and convincing terms. Diversity in American education is essential since it correctly affirms the individual, but "education for independence is not enough. Education for interdependence is just as vital." There must be some shared assumptions, some common basis for community, if we are to prevent cultural and social fragmentation, if we are to survive in this world.

I am inclined to believe that four-year college students who are not subject to some similar core curriculum would welcome its introduction. Students do not enjoy wandering aimlessly through non-related electives in their freshman and sophomore years. In spite of bravado and pretensions to independence, students do desire guidance and like to feel that someone is in charge. Moreover, once the design of general education is shown to be relevant to their whole lives and not merely their work lives, they will accept its requirements. (During the time of the troubles in the 60's, higher education beat a strategic retreat before the students' limited views of the meaning of relevance.)

Minority groups are an important segment of the public. They have in the past 10 to 12 years expressed strong positions regarding admissions and curriculum standards of higher education.

The admissions aspect is part of recent history. During the protests of the 60's, the minorities insisted on the right of a given number or quota to be admitted into an institution, irrespective of academic record or test scores. "Non-negotiable demands" were made that an autonomous ethnic studies department must be created, and that the students must have the right to choose the dean, approve the faculty, and specify the curriculum, which was to be developed in relation to the ghetto experience.

The colleges compromised and created ethnic studies departments, more freewheeling than they wished but nominally within established admissions procedure and faculty control. It did not take long for the

good sense of the minority students to assert itself. A degree in an isolated program of ethnic studies was not a certificate for a job. Swahili was not a language in current demand. As a result, minority students have switched, at least partly, to general studies and to majors more designed to prepare them to enter the mainstream of society; and a further result has been a definite improvement in the standards of ethnic studies in themselves and as they relate to other social studies and to the needs of a pluralistic society.

The general public has accepted the principle that within certain percentages the culturally disadvantaged should be given special admissions treatment and assistance after admission in order to be competitive. But the question soon arose, how long is this special treatment to be accorded? Beyond the first year? Junior year? Admission to graduate school?

The Bakke case attempts to draw a line at the professional school. The virtue of Bakke is that it has focused intense public attention on the difficult issue of minority needs both for the individual and the community. The vice of the case is the paucity of facts in the record upon which to base a landmark decision. The question of the right of an institution to base admissions on considerations other than test scores (in this case as between students, all of whom were qualified) is befogged by the issue of racial quotas. Yet I cannot feel, whatever the decision of the Supreme Court will be, pro or con, that it will rule out affirmative action as a principle or require decisions to be made on decimal rank alone.

Admittedly, the undergraduate admissions of minorities to college have not been as extensive as desired. Cultural disadvantage is a deep and abiding handicap, increased each day of ghetto living. Schools and colleges still have much to learn about the arduous process of identifying, motivating and recruiting talent. Most important, successful job placement of minority graduates is necessary to encourage others to make the effort.

The fault is not in academic standards. Waiving these standards merely defers the moment of truth and aggravates the frustrations of failures. Minority students who successfully matriculate without special assistance are the first to advise: just equalize the opportunity and we'll take care of ourselves. To provide this opportunity means reaching down and working hand in hand with the public schools and urban authorities in a combined effort to close the economic and cultural gap.

Students, perhaps reluctantly, have accepted the fact that grades are an essential measure of their achievement. Employers concerned with their academic records are interested in performance on the alphabetical scale and do not wish, as an alternative, to evaluate faculty essays on the students. As for inflated grading under an institution's policy calling

for fair grading, concerned alumni and the wider concerned public are against it as a dishonest act which should subject the offending faculty member to penalty.

Educators, students, parents, the general public agree that higher education should provide a moral dimension. The parents might prefer that this be supplied in terms of control over daily personal conduct, but the time of *locus parentis* has passed. The chief regret of the parents is that they are not attending college today, living in coeducational dormitories. The students seem more concerned with interpersonal honesty in their own affairs and social morality in the affairs of community and nation. You will recall that in the movie *The Graduate*, the confused hero hated the hypocrisy of his parents and their friends more than anything else. Students were in the vanguard of those who opposed, on moral grounds, our Southeast Asian venture and have taken the same position on university defense contracts and investments in corporations doing business in South Africa. They usually support conservation of resources, environmental programs, nuclear disarmament and racial equality and oppose nuclear power plants, contending that the proponents are morally wrong. This is not the place to debate these questions, but simply to observe that students base their views on what to them are moral judgments and seem prepared to consider ethical choices as part of their studies.

The Legislature and the Governor are the elected representatives of the public; what they do by way of funding and regulation may have practical effect on standards of admission, curriculum, scholarships, faculty-administrative relationships, and facilities for all institutions. A governor often can translate impulse into action. Higher education sometimes must enter into the political arena to defend its walls and windows; the most important adult education challenge for colleges and universities may be in the state capital.

We have talked at length about various educational standards. How does the public expect these to be enforced? Not to any great extent by the federal government (the people clap their hands to their heads when they hear of any proposed expansion of the federal bureaucracy); to some extent by the state, which bears the greatest cost in financing education. But the answer seems to be principally by the educational authorities themselves.

The general public is not too familiar with the self-regulation performed by the accreditation process. I asked a friend what he thought of accreditation; he said it was a good thing — we shouldn't leave home without it. An employer said, certainly, every student should be prepared to show his credits. But parents and students know much more about the importance of accreditation — of institutions and programs. They recognize it as a kind of seal of approval, a general

assurance of quality and the probability that credits earned will be transferable to other institutions.

As Ted Manning said yesterday, the self-evaluation report is at the heart of the accrediting process. The trustees have the greatest opportunity in their service to discover the strengths and weaknesses of their institution and its standards through a careful review of the report and the comments of the outside accrediting review team. As the segment of the public charged with the oversight of their particular institution, trustees should consider, with care, the conditions and practices that are revealed in these reports and take such remedial action as may be indicated. The public should be better informed regarding the whole process of accreditation. A step forward in this respect was the recent decision of the Senior Commission of the Western Association of Schools and Colleges to publish its negative as well as its affirmative decisions on accreditation.

As I have suggested, I believe that the public charge is given mainly to you, the educators. The general public, the specific publics, look to you to set the standards and carry out the purposes of your high calling. You should be aided and often guided by public expectations but you should not be intimidated by them. The public mood changes: the 50's students wanted college to be a quiet place, something of an escape; the 60's students demanded that the college be a militant instrument for social reform; the 70's students seem to concentrate on career training. The general public sometimes agrees with, sometimes opposes, student aspirations. Student groups differ as to these among themselves. But there are continuities even in this age of discontinuity. Much knowledge changes, but much remains the same; the human mind and condition and the vagaries and vicissitudes of political systems were pretty well known to the Greeks; the wide horizons and noble potentials of man were discovered by the Renaissance; the meaning of freedom was plumbed, if not fully applied, by our Founding Fathers; the pursuit of truth continues on many well-worn paths as well as on new ones, and while modern men have found mechanical ways to avoid thinking, no one has provided a complete substitute, and no method of learning has yet proven as effective as study. There are vast new adventures open to the mind and spirit, but these require disciplined preparation and guidance.

Educational aims and techniques may require modification on the basis of new knowledge, but proven standards, governing effective teaching and learning, should not be abandoned in response to transient pressures or expectations. The greatest expectation of the general public, transcending all others, is that you will remain true to your trust and establish, maintain and modify educational standards as you see their value and necessity in response to human and social needs. "To thine own self be true" applies to educators as well as students.